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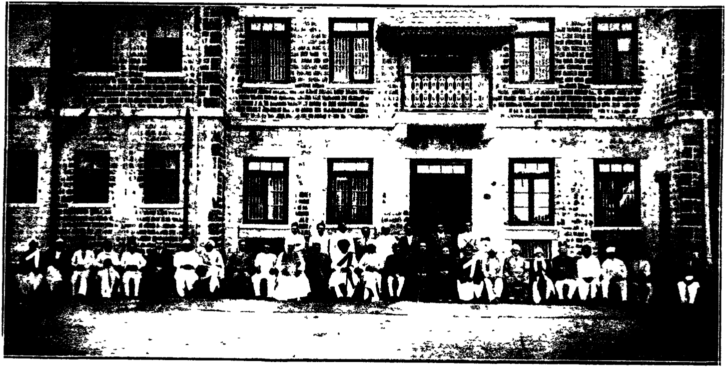
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सफलमनोरथभक्ता
करुणार्द्रापाङ्गलोलदृग्युक्ता ।
सृष्टिस्थितिलयशक्ता
पालितरिक्ता विभाति विधिसक्ता ॥ १

विख्यातस्य रसोदयेहितधियः सूर्याहितस्वोन्नतेः
सत्यायुक्तयशोदयावृततनोर्गोपालसूनोः प्रभोः ।
भारत्युज्ज्वलरामकृष्णसुधियः संशोधसन्मन्दिरे
कौमाराभ्युदये पदं वितनुते मोदस्य नः सांप्रतम् ॥ २

यत्रोदश्चदमन्दवाङ्मयसदो वैपश्चितं भ्राजते
सत्सूक्तंकरसादरेक्षणवरीबृंहन्महाभारतम् ।
तद्रोचिष्ण्ववनावमेयगुणभृद्राजत्सुधीमानितं
बाभातु प्रथमाननैजयशसाब्दे पञ्चविंशेऽधुना ॥ ३

प्राज्यं पूज्यपदं दधातु सुचिरं सूच्यग्रधीभूषणैर्
विद्वद्भिश्च तथा महीपनिवहैरद्यापि संसेव्यताम् ।
संसक्तं दुरवापपुस्तकचयैराशोभतां प्राक्तनैर्
धत्तां भूवलये शुभानि सततं नन्दत्विदं मन्दिरम् ॥ ४

आविर्भूतगुणे ततो रघुरुचिश्लिष्टे गृहे वैबुधे
धर्माद्यन्वितवासुदेवभरिते श्रीपादलाभोज्ज्वले ।
सर्वत्र प्रथितेऽथ विष्णुलसिते लेखादिदीप्ते पुना
रामालङ्कृतमेदुरप्रमदगे भूयाच्छुभं नः सदा ॥ ५

विचित्ररचनाकलाकृतमुखो भवानप्यमी
बुधाश्च कृतलक्षणा नृपतयोऽत्र भव्यैषिणः ।
कलागृहमिदं वसुप्रचयपूरणैर्बिभ्रतां
चकास्तु कुशलोदितं चिरतरं समैर्नेतृभिः ॥ ६

य एष चतुराननोऽप्यविरतं सिषेवे गिरं
सुपुण्यजनतोत्सुकोऽलसदवाप्तलक्ष्मीरपि ।
द्विजेशवरशेखरोऽप्यपचिचाय दक्षं निजं
चिरादिह रराज स प्रथितरामकृष्णोऽद्भुतः ॥ ७

भुजगबन्धः ।

भूयाद् शं सद्मवर्ये सततमिह बहुल्ल्यातिपूरप्रचित्रे
विद्यावित्सन्महीक्षित्सदसमसभे भूतिसत्तां प्रयाति ।
अब्देऽस्मिन् चित्रभानौ विलसति सदनप्रेक्षिणां वर्ण्यभूम्नां
तत्त्वप्रख्यारतेऽब्दे मह इह भविता भाग्यमग्रे न एयात् ॥ ८

॥ पद्मबन्धः ॥

राधराकापराभाशु शुभाराध्या शिवाजरा ।
राजवाक् पुष्करारोहा हारोरा मधुराधरा ॥ ९
पुण्ये प्राच्यकलाशोधधिष्ण्ये रूप्यमहे मुदा ।
सुश्लोकान्स्वयमाचष्टेऽनन्तनारायणः कृती ॥ १०

क. वे. अनन्तनारायणशास्त्री
प्राच्यविद्यासंशोधनमन्दिरम्, पुणें ४



His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley,
G. C. I. E., D. L.,
Governor of Bombay
President, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute



Raja Shrimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao *alias* Babasaheb Pandit Pant Sachiv.

Rajasaheb of Bhor

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA

SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

4th and 5th of January 1943

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute completed the twenty-fifth year of its services to Oriental learning on the 6th of July 1942. The authorities of the Institute had already decided to celebrate its Silver Jubilee, some time during the year 1942, in a manner befitting the honoured name of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and the great reputation achieved by the Institute, for its work, during a quarter of a century. Accordingly they issued their first appeal in this regard as early as 25th November 1941 (see appendix I). Appeal was also issued to Oriental scholars in India and outside for contributions for the two Volumes, which it was proposed to publish, to commemorate the Silver Jubilee. The Silver Jubilee of the Institute should have been celebrated, properly speaking, on its 25th anniversary-day, namely, 6th July 1942. Owing to the disturbed national and international situation, however, it was considered advisable to postpone the celebrations to a later date. After due deliberations, the Executive Board of the Institute finally fixed the 4th and 5th of January 1943 as the dates for the celebrations.

But in a sense the Silver Jubilee celebrations may be said to have commenced on the 6th July 1942 and continued up to the 26th of February 1943. On the 6th of July, a formal function was arranged at the Institute to celebrate the twenty-fifth foundation day, when Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL.D., the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, presided and Reverend Father H. Heras, S. J., delivered, before a large audience, a lecture, illustrated with lantern slides, on "The Divine Triad of the Proto-Indians and its Evolution in the Mediterranean Nations". On the morning of the 7th July 1942, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar inaugurated his Silver Jubilee Lecture Series on *Bhagavadgītā*. Three times every week thereafter he delivered lectures at the Institute, dealing in detail with the text of the Bhagavadgītā and

the general problems connected with it. The last lecture in the Series, on "The Historical Setting of the Bhagavadgītā", was delivered by him on the 26th February 1943 Mr. J. S. Karandikar presiding.

The 4th of January 1943 will be regarded a red-letter day in the annals of the B. O. R. I. Since early morning, members of the Institute and delegates specially deputed for the Silver Jubilee celebrations by several academic institutions in India were gathering in large numbers on the grounds of the Institute. Sweet and auspicious notes of *Sanai* mingled with the stately sound of the *Chaughada.* Punctually at 8-30 A.M., to the accompaniment of the sacred hymns of the Veda chanted by learned Brāhmaṇas, Principal V. K. Rajvade, who was one of the Vice-presidents of the first Working Committee of the Institute, garlanded the bust of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and then proceeded to the open grounds behind the main building of the Institute. There, in the refreshing sunshine of the early January morning, he planted, in the presence of an interested gathering, a *Vata* tree in commemoration of the completion of the twenty-fifth year in the career of the Institute. Altogether it was an ennobling experience! After the distribution of *Prasāda*, the morning programme terminated in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and expectation.

In the afternoon, the delegates paid a visit to the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, where they were entertained to tea by the Director, Dr. S. M. Katre, and his colleagues. On behalf of the delegates, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja thanked the Director for the reception.

Since 4-30 in the evening, streams of men and women, young and old, were seen hurrying in the direction of the Institute to attend the main function of the Silver Jubilee programme. A spacious and very tastefully decorated *Maṇḍapa* was erected on the grounds of the Institute behind the main building. Delegates from several academic bodies, members of the Institute, invited guests—all numbering over 2000—were received at the gate by the Secretary and the members of the Institute's staff. Never, in recent years, had such a huge gathering of the *elite* assembled in Poona. At 6 P. M., Shrimant Rajasaheb of Bhor,

the President-elect, and Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Chief Guest, of the Jubilee, arrived at the *Maṇḍapa* and were received by Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh and his colleagues on the Regulating Council of the Institute.

In proposing Shrimant Rajasaheb of Bhor to the chair, Mr. N. C. Kelkar dwelt at length on the happy combination, seen on that occasion, of three great cultural factors., viz. those represented by the Institute, the Chief Guest, and the President-elect (see appendix II). Principal R. D. Karmarkar seconded the proposal

After the President and the Chief Guest had taken their seats on the dias, Shrimant Raja of Aundh read his welcome-speech, wherein he gave a general review of the manifold activities of the Institute, during the last quarter of a century, which have evoked unanimous approbation on the part of scholars all over the world. He thanked the patrons of the Institute for their continued financial help and briefly outlined the future programme of work undertaken by the Institute (see appendix III). In his Presidential speech, Shrimant Rajasaheb of Bhor referred to the universal appreciation which the work of the Institute--particularly the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*--has received and appealed to his brother-princes and other rich patrons to promote the activities of the Institute by means of generous grants (see appendix IV).

Messages of greetings and good wishes on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute were then read by the following gentlemen on behalf of the learned bodies which they represented:

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja	Madras University; Adyar Library; Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.
Dr. Ludwik Sternbach	Polish Academy of Learning.
Dr. Manilal Patel	Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan; Gujarathi Sahitya Parishad.
Prof. P. V. Ramanujaswami	Shri Venkateshvara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati.
Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji	Gujarat Research Society.
Prof. V. B. Naik	Kannada Sahitya Parishad.

K. A. Padhye, Esq.	The Buddha Society.
Prin. R. D. Karmarkar	University of Bombay.
Prof. H. L. Auluck	Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute, Lahore.
B. R. Kulkarni, Esq	Rajavade Samshodhan Mandir, Dhulia

Among other delegates present on the occasion were :—

Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri	P. E. N ; Prince of Wales Museum; B. B. R. A. S, K. R Kama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
S. N. Moos, Esq.	Government of Bombay.
Dr. D. K. Karve	Indian Women's University.
Q. M. Moneer, Esq	Archaeological Department of the Government of India.
Dr. S. M. Katre	Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
Rev. Father Heras Prof. S. R. Sharma A. P. Karmarkar, Esq. L. B. Keny, Esq. Mr. Coelho	Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay.
Prof. R. V. Pathak	Gujarat Vernacular Society.
C. G. Karve, Esq.	Bharat Itihasa Samashodhak Mandal, Poona.
Prof. V. M. Joshi	Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad.
J. S. Karandikar, Esq.	Vedashastrottejaka Sabha, Poona.
G. K. Deshmukh, Esq.	Phaltan State.
C. G. Kashikar, Esq.	Vaidika Samshodhan Mandal, Poona.

Numerous other messages were received from scholars and patrons of the Institute, who could not attend the function, and from learned bodies, who could not depute any delegates. The Honorary Secretary, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, read in full the following message received from H. E. Sir Roger Lumley, the Governor of Bombay and the President of the Institute, and it was received with enthusiastic cheers by the audience.

Government House, Bombay

Since its foundation more than a quarter of a century ago, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has rendered great service to the cause of Oriental learning and deeply enriched the tradition of Indian scholarship. As President of the Institute, I am proud of the noteworthy contributions which have been made to the study of India's literary heritage under its auspices, and I am glad of the occasion of its Silver Jubilee to congratulate it upon the brilliant achievements in Indian classical scholarship which it has fostered during the past 25 years, I give my best wishes to the Institute for the future and I shall look forward in particular to the day when its great work for the Mahābhārata has been successfully completed.

Roger Lumley

1st January 1943 Governor of Bombay

The Secretary then also announced the names of other persons and institutions who had sent messages of greetings. Prominent among them were the following:

Sir Leslie Wilson; Sir Maurice Gwyer; Vice Chancellors of Annamalai, Punjab, Nagpur, Andhra, Patna, Aligarh, Allahabad, Travancore, Benaras, Delhi Universities; U. P. Historical Society; Sind Historical Society, P. E. N., Dr. V. S. Agrawalla, Kannada Research Institute; Dacca Museum; Dr. M. H. Krishna; Dr. S. K. Chatterji: Iran League; Scindia Oriental Institute; Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojha; Cheena Bhavan; Nagari Pracharini Sabha; Varendra Research Society; Vishva Bharati; Greater India Society; Bombay Natural History Society; Archæological Departments of Jodhpur and Baroda; Bihar and Orissa Research Society; International Academy of Indian Culture; K. R. Cama Orienal Institute; Mr. John Sargent; Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore; Dr. R. Shamsastry. *

* Messages of congratulations and good wishes were recently received by the Secretary from the American Oriental Society (dated 5th Feb. 1943), Yale University (dated 6th Feb. 1943) and University of London (dated 8th March 1943).

After the formal communication of the messages of greetings and good wishes, the Honorary Secretary read the following resolution passed by the Institute:

" Resolved that the Honorary Membership of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute be conferred on the following eminent scholars on the occasion of the forthcoming Silver Jubilee :—

1 Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., who, by his profound and many-sided studies in Indian Philosophy and Culture and by his gift of eloquence, has given a new status to Indian civilization and carried its mystic message to the peoples of the civilized world.

2 Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, who has combined in all his life-long historical research the profundity of ancient Indian scholarship and the critical acumen of modern Orientalists, thus endearing himself to the scholar and layman alike.

3 Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswamy Shastri, who, by his critical editions of abstruse Sanskrit texts and the monumental catalogue of South Indian Manuscripts, has facilitated the study of these manuscripts and given a new stimulus to Sanskrit learning.

4 Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B , who, by his valuable researches in Indian history and archæology, has maintained the scholarly traditions of his revered father Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

5 Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M , who, by his life-long and profound study of Hindu Dharmaśāstra and other branches of Sanskrit learning, has proved a veritable beacon light to the younger generation of scholars.

6 Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A., who, by his deep study of Indian philosophical texts and fascinating presentation of their tenets, has attracted even laymen to the treasure-house of Indian philosophy.

7 Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., who has rendered lasting service to the cause of Indian culture and Buddhistic



Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt , LL D , F B A



Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi,
B A,
Rajasaheb of Aundh



Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar

studies by his own scholarly publications and who has promoted allied scholarly efforts by his generous patronage.

8 Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, who has enhanced the prestige of Indian scholarship by his numerous and original scientific contributions to the study of Indian linguistics".

Amidst cheers, the Raja of Bhor announced the formal election of these gentlemen to the Honorary Membership of the Institute.

Again amidst cheers the Honorary Secretary announced the following donations received on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee:

Raja of Bhor	Rs. 2500/-	for the foundation of a Silver Jubilee Research Fellowship at the Institute
H. H. Maharaja of Dhar	Rs. 5000/-	(Mahābhārata Fund)
Shrimant Kanayalal Bhandari, Indore	Rs. 2000/-	(„ „)
H. H. Rajasaheb of Sangli	Rs. 1000/-	(„ „)
H. H. Maharani Indirabaisaheb Holkar, Indore	Rs. 500/-	(„ „)
Kesari-Maratha Trust	Rs. 500/-	(„ „)
M. R. Joshi	Rs. 500/-	(„ „)
H. E. H. The Nizam's Government	Rs. 500/-	(Silver Jubilee Fund)
Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay	Rs. 500/-	(„ „ „)
H. H. Maharaja of Baroda	Rs. 250/-	(„ „ „)
H. H. Maharaja of Dewas (Junior)	Rs. 250/-	(„ „ „)
Shrimant Rajasaheb of Phaltan	Rs. 100/-	(„ „ „)

He further announced that fifteen new Life-members were enrolled on the occasion and that contributions towards the Silver Jubilee fund from individual members amounted to about Rs. 2000.

Then followed the formal publication of the two Volumes

which were prepared to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Institute. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the Editor of the Volumes, while requesting Sir S. Radhakrishnan to formally announce the publication, read the following statement:

"About the end of the year 1941, the authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute decided to issue the twenty-third Volume of the "Annals" (for 1942) as a Special Jubilee Number on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Institute and entrusted the work of editing it to me. Accordingly, in November 1941, I issued an appeal to several Indologists, in India and outside, inviting their contributions for the Silver Jubilee Volume. The willing response which I then received from all quarters was an excellent indication of the high regard in which the memory of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and the work of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute are held in the world of Oriental scholars. I take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of the Institute my heart-felt gratitude to all those friends whose kind collaboration has made it possible for us to bring out the present Volume, which, as will be seen from the contents, is characterised by variety of subjects and originality of treatment.

The Silver Jubilee Volume of the "Annals" which covers nearly 700 pages includes seventy research papers contributed by Oriental scholars in India and outside. A broad classification of the contents of the Volume is as follows:

Subject	Serial numbers of articles
Veda and Avesta:	5, 17, 34, 50, 52, 62, 68.
Epics and Purāṇas:	2, 4, 19, 32, 46, 59, 60, 65.
Classical and Modern Literature:	3, 20, 41, 47, 57, 69.
Religion & Philosophy:	7, 11, 14, 22, 29, 39, 40, 42, 44, 48, 51, 66.
Buddhism and Jainism:	6, 10, 16, 64.
History, Archaeology, Epigraphy etc.:	8, 12, 23, 24, 26, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 43, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 63, 70.
Linguistics:	9, 15, 28, 45, 61, 67.

Sociology :	13, 18, 25, 37, 38, 58.
Technical Sciences :	1, 27.
Study of Manuscripts :	21.

The second Volume called " Progress of Indic' Studies " is of peculiar interest. The last twenty-five years may adequately be regarded as the period of renaissance in the history of Indological Studies. A general resurgence of the spirit of nationalism became evident in India in the first decade of this century. It was not merely a political movement; indeed it proved to be a veritable source of inspiration for the revival of the whole cultural life of this country on national basis. Indians began to take special interest in the ancient history and culture of their motherland. Work of first rate importance was – and is being produced since then – in this branch of learning.

The usefulness of a retrospect of that work, to a student of the subject, is quite patent. Apart from being a source of inspiration it would show where we actually stand today and what we have still to achieve.

I considered the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute as the most suitable occasion to undertake a survey of the progress made in Indic Studies, in India and outside, during the last twenty-five years. Accordingly I requested several scholars to co-operate with me and I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks to all of them for their willing response. Without their kind collaboration this work would have been impossible.

The "Progress of Indic Studies" contains the following articles.

Twenty-five Years of Vedic Studies	R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.
A Survey of Work done, in India and outside during the last twenty-five years, in the field of Iranian Studies	J. M. Unvala, Ph.D.
Twenty-five Years of Epic and Puranic Studies	A. D. Pusalker, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.
A brief Sketch of Prākrit Studies	A. M. Ghatage, M.A., Ph D,

A brief Survey of the Work done in the field of Classical Sanskrit Literature during the last twenty-five Years	Late Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, M.A., Ph.D.
Pre-Vedic Times to Vijayanagara : A Survey of 25 Years' Work in Ancient Indian History and Archæology	H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.
Progress of South Indian Archæology and Epigraphy during the past 25 Years	R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A.
Progress of Greater Indian Research during the last twenty-five Years (1917-1942)	U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.
Linguistics in India (1917-1942)	Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt.
A Survey of Research in Indian Sociology in relation to Hindu *Dharma-Śāstras* (1917-1942)	Pandharinath Valavalkar, LL.B., Ph.D.
Indian Philosophy : A Survey (1917-1942)	P. T. Raju, M.A., Ph D.
Study of Manuscripts	Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.

I am only sorry that owing to unavoidable circumstances the article on " Twenty-five Years of Islamic Studies " undertaken by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar remained uncompleted and could not be included in the Volume.

In my capaiaty as the Editor of these two Volumes, I now present them to the world of scholars. "

While announcing the formal publication of the Volumes, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, to whom advance copies were already presented, spoke of them in highly appreciative terms and characterised them as the most fitting memorial of the Institute's Silver Jubilee.

The Honorary Secretary then read the following resolution passed by the Institute.

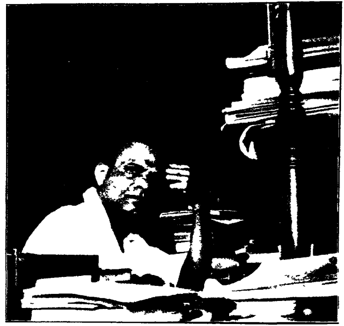
" Resolved that on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee, Silver Jubilee Medals be awarded to the following gentlemen for their



Principal J. R. Gharpure



Dr. V. S. Sukthankar



Mr. P. K. Gode

devoted services to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute during the last twenty-five years :—

1 Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., the enlightened Rajasaheb of Aundh, who, by his selfless zeal and generous patronage, has promoted the welfare of the Institute in diverse ways since its very foundation, and who, by his initiation of and princely help towards the work of the Critical and Illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata, has heralded a new era in the history of modern critical scholarship in this country.

2 Prin. J. R. Gharpure, B.A., LL B, who has been closely associated with the working of this Institute since its foundation and who, by his energetic leadership, has instilled in all his co-workers a spirit of hope and confidence at critical junctures of the Institute's affairs.

3 Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., who has played a prominent role not only in establishing the Institute but in guiding its footsteps from infancy to maturity with paternal solicitude, indefatigable industry and a rare spirit of optimism all his own.

4 Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., who, as the helmsman of the Institute's work of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, has steered clear of the Scylla and Charybdis of the problem of Mahābhārata text-criticism by the high standard of his scholarship, thus initiating a new epoch in Oriental studies and bringing international recognition and honour to the work of the Institute.

5 Mr. P. K. Gode, M.A., who, as Curator of the Institute, by exercising vigilant supervision and maintaining stern discipline, has done the Institute invaluable service in preserving intact the priceless collections of manuscripts entrusted to his care, and who, at the same time, through a rich harvest of learned papers on the most diverse subjects has established firm landmarks in the shifting sands of Indian chronology and thus helped to consolidate the reputation of this Institute for rigorous methodology and precise scholarship in the domain of the literary and cultural historiography of India. "

While awarding the Siver Jubilee medals to these gentlemen, Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that, while so usefully serving the Institute, the recipients of the medals were, in a larger sense, promoting the cause of Indian learning and culture in general.

All these formal items over, a volley of enthusiastic cheers greeted Sir S. Radhakrishnan when he proceeded to address the huge gathering who were eagerly awaiting this main part of the function. In his usual eloquent style, the Chief Guest delivered his inspiring address, which was listened to by the audience with rapt attention (see " Annals " Vol. XXIV pp. 1-8). All people were so fully absorbed in his forceful and convincing words that no one even noticed that there was once a slight dislocation in the electric current, while the address was being delivered.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. B. S. Kamat, the senior Vice-President of the Institute, to the President of the Jubilee function, the Chief Guest, the delegates, the delegating bodies, the scholars and patrons, who had sent good wishes on the occation, and the Public.

At night Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh gave a private exhibition of a film of his own " Himalayan Tour " for Sir S. Radhakrishnan and a few other friends.

Programme for the next day, 5th January 1943, was gone through by the delegates and members with unabated zeal. At 8-30 in the morning a group photograph of the delegates was taken together with Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Rajasaheb of Bhor and the members of the Regulating Council of the Institute.

This was followed by a lecture by Prof. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja of the University of Madras. Dr. S. M. Katre proposed Sir S. Radhakrishnan to the chair and Dr. P. L. Vaidya seconded the proposal. The Chairman then introduced Dr. Raja to the audience and congratulated him on the very proper choice of the subject for the lecture. For over an hour, the lecturer spoke brilliantly to the very appreciative audience on " The Message of Naimiṣāraṇya " (see appendix V).

The subject of the lecture and its unique treatment by Dr. Raja elicited from Sir S. Radhakrishnan a few presidential

remarks, which again were a veritable treat from the point of view of contents as well as of style. On behalf of the Institute, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer and the president.

After the lecture, on the invitation of Principal J. R. Gharpure, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and the other delegates paid a visit to the Law College, where S. Radhakrishnan addressed a few words to the students of the College.

At noon Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh gave a dinner to Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the delegates, the members and the guests.

The next item on the programme-card was "Informal Discussion of Indological Topics", which commenced at 3–30 in the afternoon and continued for over two hours. Rev. Father H. Heras of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay presided. Several topics were mooted and ably discussed by scholars (see appendix VI). The discussions were highly interesting and instructive and it was regretted by many that, for want of time, more topics could not be taken up for discussion. In a brief but very suggestive speech, Father Haras wound up the deliberations. Dr. Manilal Patel proposed a vote of thanks to the president and all those who participated in the discussion.

In the evening, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, the Rajasaheb and Yuvarajasaheb of Bhor among them, the Āranyaka–Parvan of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata was formally presented to the Rajasaheb of Aundh, the first patron of the project. On arrival, the Rajasaheb was received by the Honorary Secretary and other members of the Executive Board. The proceedings of the evening commenced with the recital of Mangala–ślokas in Sanskrit. The Secretary of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, made a brief statement about the progress made in the Critical Edition of the Epic undertaken by the Institute (see appendix VII). He then presented the Āraṇyaka–Parvan edited by himself to the Rajasaheb and announced the publication of a fascicule of the Sabhā–Parvan edited by Professor Edgerton of the Yale University. The Rajasaheb of Aundh, in his speech, made a fervent appeal to the

Princes and People of India to grant financial aid to the Institute and thus help the Editorial Board of the Mahābhārata to bring the national enterprise to successful completion at an early date.

In conclusion, Dr. R. N. Dandekar thanked all those who helped him to make the Silver Jubilee Celebration the grand success that it certainly was. He made a special reference to the ungrudging cooperation given to him by the Staff of the Institute as also to the wise and helpful counsel of his colleagues on the Silver Jubilee Committee, Drs. Belvalkar and Sukthankar.

The young grand-daughter of Sir R. P. Paranjpye, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institute, then gave a delightful programme of dance-numbers, which was greatly admired by the large gathering that was present on the occasion. This was followed by the exhibition of a film relating to the Himalayan Tour of the Rajasaheb of Aundh and party. Before exhibiting the film, the Rajasaheb spoke a few words about "The Wealth of the Himalayas."

In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and gratification, the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute thus came to a close—an occasion which will, for a long time to come, remain as a pleasant memory for all those who participated in it.

APPENDIX I

FIRST APPEAL

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, POONA 4 (INDIA)

SILVER JUBILEE (1917-1942)

25 November 1941

Dear Sir,

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute will be completing the 25th year of its services to Oriental learning on the 6th of July 1942. It is proposed to celebrate its Silver Jubilee in the course of the year 1942, in a manner befitting the honoured name of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, in whose name the Institute was founded on 6th July, 1917.

The signal services rendered by the Institute in manifold ways to the cause of Oriental learning during the last twenty-five years are now too well-known to the world of Oriental Scholars to need mention. We may, however, recount here a few of them for your information in view of your interest in the resuscitation of our ancient heritage and culture.

The work of the Institute on the epoch-making Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, carried on with unabated zeal and energy, for the last 22 years, stands in the front rank and academic enterprises of the century, executed as it is by Indian Scholars with the help of national and international sympathy, recognition and support. When completed it will go down to posterity as a unique achievement of the Institute in the field of organised Oriental research. The credit of completing this gigantic literary project under the Editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar must go as much to the Institute as to the several patrons of the scheme, including among others, the Imperial Government, the Provincial Governments, distinguished Rulers of Indian States and foreign institutions like the British Academy, etc. In this connection we must make a special mention of the princely donation of a lac of rupees made by the Rajasaheb of Aundh, but for whose magnanimous donation the Institute would never have commenced such onerous undertaking

costing no less than ten lacs of rupees. The Rajasaheb with his indomitable love of learning has in fact all along stood by this sacred project, inaugurated at the hands of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on 1st April, 1919.

The second memorable activity of the Institute designed to give new impetus to Oriental Studies was the First Oriental Conference organised by the Institute in 1919 The wisdom and foresight of the organisers of this scheme are borne out by the permanent form taken by this activity in the shape of ten successive sessions of this Conference, of which the eleventh will be held shortly at Hyderabad (Deccan). The generation of new scholars of Indology, now working in different Provinces of India owes not a little to this activity inaugurated by the Institute. The personal contact of scholars in the field of research brought about by the successive sessions of the Oriental Conference has been extremely serviceable in promoting exchange of ideas and particularly in preventing duplication of effort on the part of individual scholars.

The third activity of the Institute is the publication of the volumes in the "Government Oriental Series" including its research Journal, namely, the *Annals*, which is now running its twenty-second volume. In this Series no less than eighteen independent works have been published by the Institute. Among these works, Prof. P. V. Kane's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* in two volumes, and Prof H D. Velankar's *Catalogus Catalogorum of Jain Manuscripts* (*Jinaratnakośa*), now in the press, deserve special mention. Besides these works the Institute has published about twenty volumes by way of revision and reprint in the " Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series " since its transfer to the Institute in 1918. In addition to these two series the Institute has recently started its own series called the " Bhandarkar Oriental Series ", in which two works have already been published.

The fourth activity of the Institute is the successful administration of the Government Manuscript Library containing about twenty-thousand manuscripts and the publication of the *Descriptive Catalogue* of these manuscripts, which is estimated to cost more than a lac of rupees. The total number of volumes in this catalogue is estimated to comprise about forty volumes,

out of which ten volumes have so far been published by the Institute, while press-copies of about twenty more volumes are ready for printing. The importance of such a descriptive catalogue of one of the finest collections of manuscripts in India, like the Government Manuscripts Library, will be easily recognised by all Oriental research workers.

Besides the Government Manuscripts Library the Institute has started the collection of manuscripts on its own account and this collection now comprises about 2000 manuscripts acquired by purchase and presentation. In addition to this manuscript collection, the Institute has built up steadily a library of rare printed books and journals on Indology numbering about 10,000, of which the collection of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar bequeathed to the Institute forms the nucleus.

Apart from these achievements in the field of research and publication, the Institute has been running its own Press in which the major portion of its printing work is being done for the last sixteen years.

Among amenities provided by the Institute to scholars visiting the Institute from different parts of India and outside, we should not fail to record in this brief survey of the Institute's activities the construction of a Guest House for scholars made possible by the munificent donation from the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The foregoing brief sketch of some of the outstanding achievements of the Institute will acquaint you with the nature of the activities in which the Institute has been engaged for the last quarter of a century. The history of Oriental Learning reveals the fact that in ancient times all learning was patronized not only by kings and potentates, bankers and commercial magnates, but also by well-to-do persons in general. In modern times also this relation seems to have remained unaltered as all the activities of this Institute have been mainly supported by Governments and the well-to-do classes of society. It is with their help and sympathy that the Institute has made all its progress so far and it is only on the extension of this sympathy and support in future that the Institute can hope to continue its disinterested work for the promotion of Oriental Learning.

We take this opportunity, therefore, of approaching you with a request that you will be pleased to contribute your best towards the successful celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute. The cost of celebrating this function is expected to be about Rs. 10,000/-, which would be utilized in the following manner :—

(i) The celebration of the Jubilee by inviting all members of the Institute and other scholars to attend the function with a view to taking part in the proceedings of the Jubilee and by giving free accommodation to all the guests.

(ii) Inviting delegates from learned bodies and representatives of Governments of Provinces and Rulers of Indian States to take part in the proceedings and giving free accommodation to the invited delegates.

(iii) Arranging for a Special Conference of Orientalists present, in which symposia on some definite problems will be organised.

(iv) Publication of a special volume of Oriental Studies by different scholars to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of the Institute.

(v) Meeting all incidental expenses in connection with the foregoing items.

It is hoped that His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, G.C.I E., D.L., the Governor of Bombay, who is also the honoured President of the Institute, will be able to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee celebrations, which will be continued for about three days. A detailed programme of these celebrations will be sent to you later. In the meanwhile, we strongly hope that you will associate yourself with this memorable function in the history of this Institute by contributing liberally and also by giving us the pleasure of your company on this most auspicious occasion when many eminent scholars are likely to assemble at the Institute.

N. C. Kelkar	J. R. Gharpure	R. N. Dandekar
Chairman	*Chairman*	*Hon Secretary*
Regulating Council	Executive Board	

APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH BY N. C. KELKAR, ESQ.

4th JANUARY 1943

" We meet here today to celebrate the Jubilee of the " Bhandarkar Institute ". And the occasion presents, in my opinion, a happy coincidence of three great cultural factors viz. the Institute, the Addressor of this evening, and the Chairman-elect. About the cultural value of the Institute itself I need not say much. For the Orientalists, the world over, now recognise that it is a unique Institute of its kind in India, being devoted to research work, specially in the Mahābhārata, carried on, on the most modern and scientific lines. And its organisers have a right to congratulate themselves, upon the steady continuous work they have put in, under somewhat arduous financial conditions, to vindicate and justify the great name of Dr. Bhandarkar, with which the Institute has been associated. That is cultural factor, number one.

" Then as regards the great Pandit and scholar, who is going to give us the principal address in the Jubilee programme, I would say that he may be regarded as the most effective present day exponent of Indian Philosophy and Culture, not only in India, but even more so, abroad. The well-wishers of the Benares Hindu University, myself among them, were sincerely gratified when they came to know, that Sir Radhakrishnan had consented to take into *his* hands the leading strings, of that great cultural idealistic University, founded and still inspired by my revered friend Pandit Malaviya, whom I always like to describe as the most typical Hindu in India. That is cultural factor number two.

" And now I turn to the cultural setting of the Rajasaheb of Bhor whom we are going to request, to take the Presidential Chair, on the present occasion. The Rajasaheb is the prerent representative of an old noble family, which has earned for itself an honourable place in the Maratha history. The founder of the family was a valiant soldier, a wise statesman and a trusted

councillor of the great Shivaji-Maharaj. He was one of the first eight Ministers, who formed the famous Council, called the अष्टप्रधानमंडळ, the formation of which, makes out the constructive genius of Shivaji, as a constitutional ruler. The अष्टप्रधानमंडळ were really the eight *pillars*, on whose strength the new and revived Hindvi Swarajya of Shivaji was established. Of course when I mention Hindvi Swarajya, I advert here only to its cultural aspect, as relevant to my present purpose. And I will ask you to imagine, what would have been the Cultural fate of Maharashtra, if that Hindvi Swarajya had not been successfully established ?"

APPENDIX III

EXTRACTS FROM THE WELCOME ADDRESS BY SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B A., RAJA OF AUNDH, CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

4th JANUARY 1943

" The idea of starting an Oriental Research Institute in the name of Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar took a tangible shape at meeting held at the Anandashram, Poona, on Tuesday the 6th of July 1915, Dr. Bhandarkar's 78th birthday. The working committee elected at this meeting, lost no time in formulating a scheme for the proposed Institute and working out its details with the co-operation of all its collaborators and sympathisers. As a result of this co-operation the committee was able to organize the preparation of a commemoration volume to be presented to Sir Ramkrishna on the 6th of July 1917 at the hands of His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay. The ceremony of the inauguration of the Institute was also combined with the above function. The function was an unqualified success. His Excellency Lord Willingdon graciously consented to be the First President of the Institute, as His Excellency was convinced about the nobility of the objects and ideals underlying this unique enterprise. In the words of His Excellency " the objects and ideals were such as to command the most sympathetic attention and appreciation of

any Government and indeed, of any person, whether his position be public or private, to whom the highest interests of India, its venerable past and its brilliant future, are objects of deep and warm solicitude". These words have proved prophetic in the history of the Institute in view of the continued sympathy and support of both the Government, and the public which the Institute has all along enjoyed during the last twenty-five years and which have furthered the objects and ideals with which the Institute started on its academic career. The General Body of the Institute has evinced its grateful appreciation of the continued Government sympathy and support to the Institute by the unanimous election of the Governors of this Presidency as its successive Presidents, during the last twenty-five years, His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, being its present President It would have been in the fitness of things that the Silver Jubilee of an institute inaugurated by a Governor of this Province in 1917 should have been inaugurated by the present Governor. In fact it was the ardent desire of myself and my committee that His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley would be pleased to accept our invitation to preside on this auspicious function. We regret however, that owing to some unavoidable reasons His Excellency is unable to attend this function in person. We have however all his blessings and good wishes for the successful conduct of the Jubilee celebrations.

"With the auspicious and enthusiastic start given to it by the Government and the public, the Institute was emboldened to initiate certain activities within a couple of years from its inception for furthering its aims and objects These activities included—

(1) The preparation of a Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, a work of epoch-making international importance which has proved beyond challenge the capacity of Indian scholars to undertake gigantic literary projects and execute them with the thoroughness of scientific method to the entire satisfaction of the world of scholars.

(2 The First Oriental Conference organized by the Institute in 1919 was then hailed with delight by all lovers of

oriental learning. This activity initiated by the Institute has now become a permanent feature of scholarly life in India as will be seen from the successive ten conferences held at different places in India during the lart twenty-three years.

(3) The Research Journal of the Institute called the "Annals" was started by the Institute in 1920. The services of this journal to the cause of oriental research will be apparent by a mere glance at the learned contents of varied research matter enshrined within its twenty-three volumes including the special Jubilee Volume of 700 pages which is being published today

(4) The Publication Department of the Institute has brought out with the help of Government Publication grant during the last twenty-five years no less than twenty volumes, out of which the encyclopaedic History of Dharmaśāstra by Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane and the Catalogus Catalogorum of Jain Manuscripts by Prof H. D. Velankar now nearing completion in the press are of outstanding significance. The Institute also manages the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series and has recently started the B. O. Series.

(5) The Government Manuscripts Library of about 20,000 rare and valuable manuscripts deposited at the Institute by the Government of Bombay in 1918 and so efficiently managed by the Institute without the loss of a single manuscript has proved a veritable source of attraction to research scholars all over the world. A Descriptive Catalogue of these manuscripts comprising about forty-five volumes is being prepared by the Institute and so far ten volumes of this catalogue have been published. Besides the Government Manuscripts Library the Institute possesses about 2,500 manuscripts of its own.

(6) The collection of rare printed books and journals bequeathed to the Institute by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar formed a valuable nucleus for the Institute's library

of printed books which now comprises no less than ten-thousand rare books and journals on Indology.

(7) The press of the Institute started in 1925, has rendered valuable service to the publication department of the Institute during the last seventeen years, as it has been able to print off the major portion of Institute's printing work during this period.

(8) The Research Department of the Institute trains students in the methods of scientific research as well as for M. A. and Ph. D. degrees The Institute organises Extension Lectures on Indological subjects every term.

(9) To add to this equipment so necessary for the progressive realization of the objects and ideals of the Institute, the Institute now owns a Guest House for scholars called the Nizam's Guest-House through the munificence of the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

" Ladies and Gentlemen, my purpose in acuainting you with some of the salient features of the Institute's progressive activities during the last quarter of a century, is not merely that of a chronicler but that of an ardent and active well-wisher of the Institute who is as much interested in its brilliant past as in its future. Many of the sympathisers of the Institute to whose selfless zeal, devotion and labour the Institute owes so much, are now no more ; but their memory is still ever green in our minds reminding us of the duties that lie ahead of us for the furtherance of the objects and ideals of the Institute with a view to adding to its present glory and academic achievements in the years to come. I look forward to the younger generation of intellectuals in this country to take more interest in the activities of the Institute and shape its future destiny in a manner worthy of the name of the Greatest Orientalist in whose honour it is founded. I need hardly add that the future of the Institute depends as much on scholarly effort as on its financial stability which is necessary for the successful completion of the present projects of the Institute and an increased expansion of its scope

and activities during the next twenty-five years. I feel confident, however, that with public enthusiasm, patriotic effort and the sympathies and good-will of the sister institutions, representatives of some of which I now see before me, it may not be difficult for the future authorities of this Institute to lead it to new paths of glory and make it win fresh laurels in the fields of research still untrodden."

APPENDIX IV

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY SHRIMANT RAJA SAHEB OF BHOR

4th JANUARY 1943

" *Rajasaheb, Sir Radhakrishnan, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, the popular Governor of Bombay, was to preside over this function but on account of unavoidable circumstances, His Excellency could not come today. We all feel and feel so keenly the absence of His Excellency particularly on an occasion like this.

" I now turn to the good and enduring work done by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which has completed its twenty-five years of useful existence. Let me tell you that already I had twice the good fortune of being associated with the ceremonial occasions relating to this Institution. It vividly recalls to my mind the day of July in 1919 when I unveiled the inspiring bust of the late revered Dr. Bhandarkar. Lord Willingdon who in later part of his life came to be regarded as an Ambassador of Empire, inaugurated as you know this cosmopolitan character Institute which aims at understanding and learning the real history of past. Then again in November 1919, I had the proud privilege to offer a hearty vote of thanks to the then Governor of Bombay His Excellency Sir George Lloyd who presided over the First Oriental Conference held under the auspices of this Institute. That Conference was the first of its kind in the educational history of India. And this is the third time that I am privileged to show my regard for this worthy Institute.

"The British Academy-London- has appreciated the beneficent activities of this Body in the following terms:— "The Academy has been impressed by the unanimity of many eminent scholars warmly approving the work of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, as apparent in the published portions of its' edition, and trusts that all needful support may be accorded to the prosecution of so national a task." The stupendous work of editing the Critical edition of the Mahābhārata is receiving the warm attention of the President of the Institute and latest report states that but for the personal solicitude of our worthy President, His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, for the well-being and Progress of the Mahābhārata work, it would have been well nigh impossible for the authorities of the Institute to improve the finances of the Mahābhārata Department especially during the War period. This amply bears testimony-if at all that be needed- to the keen interest taken by His Excellency in the good work of this temple of learning which has enabled good many devoted students to bear and carry the torch of Oriental Learning to the distant parts of this world.

"I am aware that you are all so eager to listen to the stimulating and instructive address of the world famous Seer and Philosopher - I mean - Sir Radhakrishnan who is a distinguished son of India. His contributions to the philosophic field are too well known to need repetition.

"I once more thank the Institute for the honour done to me today and warmly hope and trust that the Institute will thrive from year to year and will get the public and Government support in an ever increasing measure to carry out its precious and useful activities."

APPENDIX V

THE MESSAGE OF THE NAIMIṢĀRAṆYA

By

C. KUNHAN RAJA

[Dr. C Kunhan Raja of the University of Madras delivered a lecture on Tuesday 5th January 1943, the second day of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, at 9 A.M. Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided on the occasion The following is a summary af the lecture. —R N. D.]

India has already passed through two epochs in the long history of her unbroken civilization, which must be counted in milleniums; we are now on the threshold of the third epoch. The first epoch is what is called the Vedic age. The beginning of this age is computed to be about fifteen hundred B. C. by some and fifteen thousand B. C by others. All that we can say is that it was a long period. When during this age the civilization was a burning force, India was politically free. A few centuries prior to the Christian Era, there began to appear signs of a breakdown in this civilization. The people and even the leaders of public opinion began to lose confidence in the efficacy of the old order and were harbouring hopes of starting a civilization afresh completely breaking away from the past. Simultaneous with this decline in Indian civlization India's political independence also suffered a set-back. The Greek invasion of India at this period is very well known.

The movement for substituting the Vedic civilization by a new civilization was arrested by a stronger movement for the regeneration of the Vedic civilization and its adaptation to the needs of the altered times. This revived civilization may be called the Purāṇic civilization. I prefer to call it the Mahābhārata civlization, in so far as all the Purāṇas and the entire literature representing this civilization have drawn their inspiration from the Mahābhārata. If I am asked to suggest one name to comprehensively designate this civilization, I can give only one name and that is Veda Vyāsa. He preached the greatness of the Vedic age; he narrated the exploits of the great kings of

the Vedic age; he taught the nation that the essentials of the Vedic civilization were enough to nourish the nation in their cilvilized life. The essence of the Vedic civilizatian was the harmony between gods and men, between heaven and earth and between matter and spirit. The fundamental doctrine of the new civilization that was started to replace the Vedic civilization was the antethesis between the material cravings of man the needs of his spiritual aspirations. The consequent other-wordly and even anti-worldly outlook on life produced a degenartion in the people and this decline resulted in the possibility of foreign invasions. Veda Vyāsa's call to the nation for the revival of the Vedic civilization commanded a universal ressponse and the nation could prolong their civilized life through another very long epoch. Śrī Krsṇa the dominating personality of the Mahābhārata of Veda Vyāsa represented the true spirit of this revived civilization. He helped and guided the Pāndavas in their fight to regain their hereditary throne. The Pāndavas were described as coming of a long line of noble kings who had discharged their duty to the world as kings. The material propserity of the country is not the only concern of kings. If it were so, Suyodhana was as good a king as, perhaps even a better king than, Yudhisthira. But respect for Dharma and tradition is even a more important virtue in a king and Suyodhana did not have this virtue, while Yudhisthira stood for Dharma and tradition. "Live and fight for your rights; follow tradition." This is the motto of Mahābhārata. Draupadī, the consort of the Pāṇḍavas was the visible representation of India's nationhood. The use of arms to protect her honour was the Dharma of the Pāndava king.

Bhāravi, the poet, in his great epic, namely the Kirātārjunīya, extolled war in the defence of the freedom and the honour of the country, through the words of Draupadī and Bhīma; he condemned the policy of forbearance with country's enemy advocated by Yudhiṣṭhira, by bringing Vyāsa on the scene at that stage to give the counsel of gaining power and using it in defending the nation's rights and honour.

Similarly Kālidāsa sang about the great kings of old. In the Raghuvaṁśa there is no mention of the luxury of the palace or of military pomp in the whole description of Dilīpa; nor, in such

royal pomp held out as the prospective advantage in the union with any of the kings who had assembled for the Svayaṁvara of Indumatī. Immediately after the description of Dilīpa, he is taken out of the palace to the forest to see the world; there he has to learn from the ordinary peasants the names of the common trees. What Kālidāsa wanted to emphasise is that the greatness of a king does not depend upon the paraphernalia usually associated with royalty. It is his relation with the world and the people in the world and his ability to discharge his responsibilities to the world that determine his greatness. A king has first to be great as a man if he is to be counted a great king. Kālidāsa sings of the beauty of the world. He describes the kings of the world as superior to the king of heaven. This world is a happier place according to Kālidāsa than heaven. The lord of the heaven depends on the kings of the earth in his wars with his foes. The damsels of heaven fall in love with the kings of earth. All these things have a great significance in inspiring a declining nation with their sense of duty to life and to the world where they have to live

All the poets drew their inspiration from the Mahābhārata of Veda Vyāsa. He is the acknolwdged leader in this second epoch, marked out by the movement of Vedic revival and the Mahābhārata is the greatest gift to posterity of that nation wide movement. As a result of that movement, the nation was restored to her ancient glory that reigned during the Vedic age. During this second epoch, there were occasional conquests of parts of India by foreigners like the Cythians and the Huns. But all these hords of foreign adventurers were like fire-flies approaching a burning fire to eat the flames; they were consumed by the fire. All the foreigners got merged in the Indian nation. So long as the civilization was burning, no foreign matter could defile the life of the nation.

The civilization of this second epoch is also on the point of decline at the present time. If we missed the chance to live and work for India during the days of Veda Vyāsa's personal leadership, the next best opportunity to live in India is the present age when we are again starting a new epoch. Just as the call of Veda Vyāsa was to keep the torch of Vedic civilization burning, the call to modern India should be to keep the civilisation of

the Mahābhārata glowing. The glory of the past as recorded in the Mahābhārata should be an inspiration to us in our fight to restore the greatness and honour of our ancient country. If we can keep the torch burning, the path to our future glory remains well illuminated. When the fire begins to burn every foreign matter will get consumed into this fire. All the problems of modern India in her present day period of decadence will have a natural solution. India will have another epoch of great glory and will play her noble part in man's affairs in the world as a worthy partner.

It cannot be a mere accident that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has taken up the gigantic task of bringing out a critical edition of the Mahābhārata at this time; nor can it be an accident that the task has been entrusted to this Institute instead of to a European one, providence has a plan. This stupendous task should not be a mere intellectual curiosity for the editors or to the orientalists. Its appeal must be to the whole nation, who must be thrilled into a new state of activity under its influence This Institute must be the Naimiṣāraṇya of the present age for the inauguration of the third epoch in the history of India with the *Message of the Mahābhārata.*

APPENDIX VI

INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF INDOLOGICAL TOPICS*

5th JANUARY, 1943

I

A SUGGESTION TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

BY

V. M. APTE

It is well-known that the *Mahābhārata* is an *itihāsa*, *kāvya*, and (*dharma*-, *artha*-, *kāma*-, and *mokṣa*-) *śāstra*, rolled into one. The *daśasāhasrī saṁhitā*, indeed, is hardly *one* poetic production

* Only brief synopses of the lectures of these scholars who initiated the discussion of the topics are given here. These were followed by remarks made by several other scholars present on the occasion. — R. N. D.

but rather a *whole literature* ! Strangely enough, in a sense, this is just as it should be ! If an Epic is to continue to be a vital force in the life of any progressive people, it must be a *slow-changing book*.

It is a perfectly legitimate expectation then, that we should find a vast amount of pre-epical literature, absorbed in the *Mahābhārata*, by way of actual *citations*, *allusions*, *summaries*, *amplifications*, *adaptations*, *imitations* or *parodies* of relevant passages or chapters in that literature Invaluable work in the matter of tracing these allusions etc. to their sources has been done by Holtzmann,[1] Hopkins[2] and others Much remains to be done, however, especially with regard to Vedic literature. The problem, besides, assumes a new significance in view of the work of preparing a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* that is going on at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the material collected and the manuscripts collated there. What formerly, with only one edition before us, looked like a remote resemblance, a faint echo, a mere summary or at best an adaptation, may turn out now, in the light of the entire manuscript evidence, to be either an attempt at citation not materializing through failure of memory or lack of care, or a deliberate modification – an *ūha* of a Vedic passage. *A thorough-going attempt to trace all possible citations, adaptations etc, of passages in earlier Vedic and post-Vedic literature in a parvan may be of great help to the critical editor of that parvan, if not in selecting the best reading of a Mahābhārata passage, for which manuscript evidence must be his principal guide, at least in making his notes on the nature of his manuscript material.*

In judging of the tendencies at work responsible for the *differentiae* in the various manuscripts in their particular space-time context, the Critical Editor may, as well, take note of the *levelling influence* which tends to obliterate these *differentiae*, represented by the fact that some manuscripts give or try to give a version identical with the source-passage in its original form.[3]

It is my suggestion to the Mahābhārata Editorial Board of

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[1] *Das Mahābhārata and seine Teile*, in four volumes, Kiel 1892–95. *The Great Epic of India*.

[3] For specific instances of this type, see my paper 'Ṛgveda Citations in the Mahābhārata,' in the Festschrift Kane, Volume, (1941), 26–38.

the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, that they should Institute a special department to make the 'thorough-going attempt' described above. The problem may be tackled in two ways :-- (1) Each important text in pre-epical (chiefly Vedic) literature beginning with the Ṛgveda[1] may be taken up, one by one, and citations etc. therefrom may be traced in *all* the *parvans* of the Epic, with the aid of the critical material in the published ones and of the manuscript collations in the unpublished ones; (2) secondly all possible *citations*, etc. from all important pre-epical texts may be traced in *one particular parvan* of the epic. The results of such an investigation may then be placed before the Critical Editors of the different *parvans* and I have no doubt that such a procedure will enhance the value of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, to an appreciable extent.

II
BUDDHIST STUDIES
By
P. V. BAPAT

Next, Prof. P. V. Bapat. M.A., Ph.D., of Fergusson College, Poona, initiated the discussion on Buddhist studies. He stressed the need of making available, to Indian readers, Devanāgarī editions of Pali works— an activity which, by the bye, has been already undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, by publishing critical editions of three Pali books in the newly-started Bhandarkar Oriental Series— which would go a long way in popularising the study of Pali. Pali books, he pointed out, are with an increasing concensus of opinion, being accepted as the earliest available record on Buddhism and as such, no student of Buddhism can afford to neglect that branch of studies. He also made it clear that for the thoroughness of studies in that line, it is being more and more recognised that the study of Pali and Sanskrit books needs to be supplemented by a comparative study of Tibetan and Chinese sources.

[1] For an illustration of this method of approach, as limited to the Ṛgveda, see my paper described in the preceding foot-note.

Thanks to the University of Bombay and to the munificence of the Government of Chiang Kai Shek in China that complete sets of Chinese Tripiṭaka published respectively in Japan and China are now available to Buddhist scholars in Bombay Presidency. The Chinese set has been a free gift to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. All the same, scholars find themselves still handi-capped, on account of the absence of a complete edition of Tibetan Tripiṭaka, popularly known as Kanjur and Tanjur. He informed the audience that an attempt in that direction by the Library authorities of the University of Bombay has not yet been crowned with success and so the scholars have still to seek the help of Tibetan libraries at Adyar (Madras), Shantiniketan, Calcutta, or even, Washington (U. S. A.).

Mr. K. A. Padhye, Secretary, Buddhist Society, Bombay, followed. He also emphasised the importance of Chinese studies, reminding the audience that the Buddhist learning was originally Indian that it was taken from India by the scholar-travellers like Fa-hien, Yuan-chwang and I-tsing and that it, therefore, behoves Indian scholars to bring it back to India.

III

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF INDIA : THE BLACK AND THE WHITE RACES

By

A. P. Karmarkar

Various theories have been postulated in regard to the immigration of the different races in India. It is said that the Negritoes, the Austro-Asiatic or the southern race, the Dravidians and the Aryans must have in succession entered into India. All these theories assume for the time being that India was uninhabitable since the beginning of the world.

The recent discoveries made at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and other sites have really changed the outlook of scholarship. Uptill-now it was generally supposed that all the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India were black and of ugly features. But the beautiful and attractive representations and figurines of gods, goddesses and others obtaining on the above sites show exactly the opposite of these notions.

The Dravidians, who are also designated as Vrātyas in later literature, mainly consisted of the following tribes e.g. the Māhisikas, the Bālhīkas, the Gandhāras, the Yakṣas, the Mīnas or Matsyas, the Kīkaṭas, the Colas, the Keraḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and others.

In our opinion, all the above-mentioned theories in regard to the immigration of the various races, shall have to be revised. All that is said about the Mohenjo Daro civilization and about the megalithic tombs discovered in Southern India, should reveal to us one fact, namely, that, at one time, the Dravidians must have spread themselves in the whole of India. At the same time, there is very little evidence to postulate that any other race could have subsisted and pervaded in India on such a large scale. The question of a provisional immigration of some of the negroid races at a later date, is evidently possible.

In view of the new discoveres in India, all the attempts towards showing a separate home (other than Indian) for these Dravidians must prove rather unconvincing. The most eminent Savant Father Heras has successfully shown the various stages in which the culture of the proto-Dravidians could have migrated from India into the Western world.

The whole of the existing data proves beyond doubt that the home of the Dravidians must have been India itself. And on account of the two climatic zones into which India can naturally be divided, it is just possible that the same race could have been both black and white. Even the northerners were called as black by the Aryans because they must have been comparatively less fair than the Aryans themselves.

In the light of the above suggestions, it is worth while studying these two problems :

(1) 'When did India actually become habitable ?'

(2) 'What was the colour of the first race, whether white or black ?'

IV

ANTIQUITY OF KARKĀCĀRYA

BY

B. R. KULKARNI

That the astronomical element embodied in the Vedic literature demands a close and comparative study is evident from the controversy of the Vedic Antiquity as it is being subjected to conclusions as poles asunder. The problem of ascertaining the date of Karkācārya a commentator on the Śulbasūtra of Kātyāyana, is a typical illustration of such an astounding difference.

A passage from him about the occurrence of an equinoctial day[1] is interpreted in three different ways arriving at dates ranging from 13000 B. C. to 100 A. D.

In the first version the sun is taken to rise heliacally on the vernal equinox day between Citrā (Spica) and Svāti (Arcturus) and his date is said to be somewhere about 13000 B. C.[2] Being doubtful about the accuracy of the passage or that of the argument, guidance was requested from Dr. K. L. Daptari of Nagpur. He kindly pointed out his own interpretation as well as another by Mr. Apte.

He opines that some error has crept into the passage, however it indicates that the point in the middle of the line joining the two constellations was rising in the due east.[3] This brings Karkācārya some where about 1200 B. C. The third version accepts the heliacal rising of the sun between Citrā and Svāti but the meaning of Udagayana is supposed to be ' in the same ayana ' as against its usual technical sense and thus the day of equinox is taken to be of Autumn. This brings the commentator nearer by a thousand years i. e. about 200 A. D.[4]

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[1] दक्षिणायने तु चित्रां यावदादित्य उपसर्पति । उदगयने स्वातिमिति । विषुवतियेत्वहनि चित्रास्वात्योर्मध्येवोदयः ।

[2] (1) Chulet's Veda Kala Nirnaya (in Hindi) p. 32.
(2) Chapekar Lokashikshana (Marathi monthly) Vol. 8 Nos 5, 6 p. 427.

[3] Maharashtra (A Marathi biweekly of Nagpur) date 3 July 1932.

[4] Ibid (the review of Chulet's Veda Kala Nirnaya by the late Mr. G. S. Apte).

I am giving here one more interpretation based on an astronomical tradition that has remained unnoticed up to now. It was the evening and not morning that was used to express the equinoctial time.[1] Therefore the point between Citrā and Svāti should be taken to signify the acronychal rising of the same on the day of the vernal equinox. And in this way the antiquity of Karkācārya does not go beyond the first century A. D.

V

GUJARAT PREHISTCRIC EXPEDITION

BY

H. D. SANKALIA

' At the outset Dr. Sankalia told how the Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition was organised by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India. The aim of the Expedition was firstly to search systematically for the remains of palaeolithic and microlithic cultures in Gujarat, a few clues of which were given by Robert Bruce Foote in the last century; secondly to inquire about the supposed hiatus between these two cultures as postulated by Foote. The Expedition worked for over two months in the valleys of the Sabarmati and other rivers and collected much material for unravelling Gujarat's prehistory. The material is being studied now in the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, and a report on it will be published in a year or two. '

पन्नरस मुहुत्तादिणो दिवसणे समा यजा हवइ राई ।
सो होइ विसुवकालो दिणराइणं तु संधिम्मि ॥ 280 ॥

(२) मंडलमहसत्थंमि अचक्खुविसयं गयंमि सूरमि
जो खलु मत्ताकालो सो कालो होई विसुवस्स ॥ 290 ॥

—ज्योतिषकरण्ड, (514.A.D.)

VI

ON THE α- PHONEME (A PROBLEM IN DRAVIDIAN PHONETICS)

By

C. R. SANKARAN

1. Introduction- Phonetics and Phonematics.
2. The conception of *Phonemes* and their *Variants*.
3. The behaviour of the phoneme *Āytam* in old Tamil.
4. The study of its property leads to the formulation of the 'cut' conception through the application of Dedekind's postulate and its designation as the α-phoneme.
5. The α-phoneme in other languages (both related and unrelated.)
6. The advantages of this definition are numerous.
7. Conclusion. This definition leads to the examination of the ultimate nature of the vowels and consonants in human speech.
8. References.

1. Introduction-Phonetics and Phonematics.

Phonetics, as you all know, is a science which deals with speech sounds. It deals with the biophysical aspect of human speech. Its specialised branch is Experimental or Laboratory phonetics. In this study, linguistics and acoustics (a branch of physics) have the common meeting ground. Naturally the formulation of phonetic laws in the true sense of the term, are bound to be mathematical.

Now Phonematics (1. 49) is the *abstract science* which deals with the abstractions called the phonemes, the fundamental units of speech. These abstractions are nothing but the *logical classes* of what we in ordinary parlance call *Speech-sounds*.

2. The conception of *Phonemes* and their *Variants*.

Any phoneme is a *class* of a particular speech-sound (2). A class is the aggregate of all the entities which possess a certain property. Although the speech of a robust young man differs from that of a feeble old woman, we recognise for instance the same word *pin* when uttered by both the individuals. It is because in the *spoken word pin*, we recognise three classes *p*, *i*

and *n*. An *utterance-event* is said to occur in *space* and *time*, each time when the word *pin* is *consciously* uttered by any member of the speech community, in our particular instance the English. Each such *utterance-event* consists of one member of the class *p*, one of the class *i* and one of the class *n*.

The *utterance-event pin* can be contrasted with the *utterance-events tin, kin, sin*; *pan, pun*; *pill, till, kill, will* and thus we can abstract the classes of *p*, *i* and *n*. Thus we can easily get the classes of all the speech-sounds in any particular language. Each such class is a phoneme. Thus a *phoneme* is different from a *speech-sound*. The speech-sounds are shots aimed at the norm which is the phoneme- the bull's eye of the target. I am talking of the actual articulation here of say *p, i* or *n* in the stream of speech by the speakers of the language, when I talk of the *speech-sounds*. They, distributed about the norm of the phoneme, give *significance* to it, while the norm of the phoneme gives *meaning* to the speech-sounds which approximate it.

A phoneme is the smallest unit of *distinctive significance*. It is an atom-analogue in speech just as the morpheme (the smallest *meaningful unit* in speech) is the molecule-analogue. Every morpheme consists of one or more minimum distinctive *vocal features* called the phonemes. The classes of speech-sounds are certainly *finite*.

The range of every speech-sound is within a particular field in which there are *infinite variations*; if a speech-sound tends to the *limit* of the field which is legitimately its *domain*, it tends to jump into another field (phoneme) the domain of yet another infinite variations. Now within each field, there are sub-fields. Each such sub-field is called a variant of the particular phoneme. Some-time, the variant character of a phoneme is determined by the neighbouring phonemes. In such cases, we speak of the *combinatory* or *positional* variants. (4. 392; 5.54).

3. The behaviour of the phoneme *Āytam* in old Tamil.

The phoneme *Āytam* occurs in certain speech forms in old Tamil (3. 348-9). The *necessary* and *sufficient* conditions for the occurrence of this phoneme are the preceding *vowel* and the following *consonant* in each of the instances (3. 348). By logical

deductions and other assumptions to which we are led on by the investigations on the occurrence of the phoneme (3. 348) (for instance, the *Āytam* in *a*₀ ° • *tu* is *assumed* to be *identical* with the *Āytam* in *i*₀ ° • *tu*), we arrive at the conclusion that this phoneme had *only* six variants as determined by *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*, and *r* respectively.

4. The study of the property of the *Āytam* leads to the formulation of the 'cut' conception through the application of Dedekind's postulate and the consequent designation of the *Āytam* as the ∝-phoneme.

Now the vowel-class can be designated as the L class, and the consonant class as the R class. Any member of the vowel class is *less* than *any* member of the consonant class on Rousselt's theory of accent which assigns the cause to the organs of breath (6)

Therefore the *Āytam* is clearly seen to 'cut' the two classes in all the speech-forms under discussion, in the familiar manner of Dedekind's postulate (3. 345). Hence the designation of the *Āytam* as the ∝ -phoneme and its variants as the ∝1, ∝2, ∝3, ∝4. ∝5 and ∝6.

5. The ∝ -phoneme in other languages (both related and unrelated).

We meet with the *Āytam* correspondent not only in certain uncultivated Dravidian dialects like Gōṇḍī (3. 349) but also in an Indo-European dialect – the Icelandic (4. 393) and probably also in some Kashmiri dialects (6).

6. The advantages of the definition of the ∝ -phoneme are numerous.

The formulation of the conception of the ∝ -phoneme as a segment between two successive change-points (5. 54) make us feel that Verner's law and the allied problems ought to be reaxamined (4. 394). It has other advantages too. It will make us understand the problems of the *allophones* of the visarga and the Kannaḍa ṟ (5. 56). It thus presents many a problem to the experimental phonetician.

7. Conclusion – The definition of the ∝ -phoneme leads to the examination of the ultimate nature of the vowels and the consonants in human speech.

The formulation of the 'cut' conception brings to the forefront the important conception that speech does not consist of blocks of constant sounds but of a *continuous* sound that changes more or less gradually from beginning to end and to the need of the specification of the structure of the speech-sounds in greater *quantitative detail* (5. 55–6, 6).

8. References.

(1) Louis Hjelmslev, On the principles of phonematics *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* 49–54, Cambridge 1936.

(2) V. Brøndal. Sound and Phoneme. *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* 40–45.

(3) C. R. Sankaran, The Phonemic Variants of the *Āytam* in Old Tamil, BDCRI 2. 343–50.

(4) C. R. Sankaran, The positional variants of the phoneme *Āytam* in old Tamil, BDCRI, 3, 392–4.

(5) C. R. Sankaran, On the sub-Class of α-phoneme, BDCRI, 4. 54–6.

(6) C. R. Sankaran, On the α-phoneme, BDCRI, 4. 124–6.

VII

COLONIZATION OF MAHĀRĀṢṬRA

BY

S. R. SHENDE

Mahārāṣṭra is the name of a part of Bhāratavarṣa which it received after the Aryan-settlers joined together to form one society, creating a common civilization and culture and using one language and the same mode of living to build up brotherhood amongst themselves. My object of the talk of this day is to place before the Pandits assembled here, my thoughts as I am able to form about the commencement of the colonization which is called Mahārāṣṭra with the help of प्राकृत grammars.

The oldest of the प्राकृत grammars is that of वररुचि. It treats of four प्राकृत languages. The noticeable feature of the name of

these languages is that they are derived from the names given to such colonies of Aryans which they created after they crossed सिंधु नदी and entered भारतवर्ष. The प्राकृत languages described by वररुचि are पैशाची, शौरसेनी, मागधी and महाराष्ट्री. पैशाची was prevalent in पैशाचदेश i.e. the Punjab, शौरसेनी in शूरसेनदेश i.e. country round about मथुरा, मागधी in मगध i.e. Bihar and महाराष्ट्री in महाराष्ट्र. It can be surmised from the above that these were the four colonies which shaped into separate entities of societies with different cultures, modes and manners of living, with their new names for themselves and for the regions they lived in and lastly having their own distinctive styles of languages names of which are referred to by वररुचि.

We have now to find out where from the colonization of महाराष्ट्र took place. We can imagine that these colonizations expanded firstly by the sides of the rivers of the Punjab, subsequently by the banks of गंगा and यमुना in U. P. and therefore eastward by sides of गंगा in Bihar. We need not trouble over the details of these colonies. But we have to enter into details of the colonization of महाराष्ट्र being the subject matter of this talk.

Following the theory of river-side-colonization we find that the Aryans after having settled by the sides of यमुना to create शूरसेनदेश colony, must have proceeded eastward by the same river. And after they crossed Agra they came across a new river चर्मण्वती the present day चंबळा which merged into यमुना. It was but natural that some of the Aryans might have proceeded eastward by the side of यमुना and the rest might have taken route by चर्मण्वती which has sprung up in the southern Malva travelled eastern Rajaputana and joined यमुना. These Aryans who made choice of taking the course of चर्मण्वती had to wade through the deserts of Rajaputana till they reached the fertile land of of माळवा following the शिप्रा a tributory of चर्मण्वती and settled down the country round about उज्जयिनी or अवंती. Here, it seems, they must have settled for a long time to form a new society creating every feature of it for themselves, a new name महाराष्ट्र for the land and a new name for the language they brought into being for their use i.e. महाराष्ट्री.

In support of the above statement I quote here a line from प्राकृत सर्वस्व, a grammar compiled by मार्कण्डेय which runs as:—

आवंती स्यान्महाराष्ट्री शौरसेन्योस्तु संकरात् । It seems from this line that there was a dialect current in अवंती by the name आवंती being a mixture of महाराष्ट्री and शौरसेनी. We therefore can safely take the colonization of महाराष्ट्र to have commenced near about अवंती.

VIII

INDOLOGY IN POLAND

BY

LUDWIK STERNBACH

Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Civilisation were taught in Poland in three most important Universities. The fact that the study of Sanscritology was represented in Poland in three Universities means that there were only a few students at each centre. The study of Indology involved a course of five years. The study was limited to philology, exact sciences and Ancient Indian Literature. Unfortunately very little classical Sanskrit literature has been translated into Polish. A few Polish manuals on Indology also exist in Poland.

In Lwow the very proper method of consultations between students and professors was introduced. The new students came to the professors who asked them why they wanted to study Indology. The replies varied. From these replies a plan of lectures was laid down for each student.

The Universities in which Indology was taught were Lwow, Cracow and Warsaw. Prof. St. Stasiak of the Lwow University is a great scholar in Logic. Prof. H. Willman Grabowska of the Cracow University is interested in Sanskrit Philology. Prof. St. Schayer of the Warsaw University has devoted himself to the study of the Ancient Indian Philosophy.

A few years before the outbreak of the war the Sanskrit grammar in Polish by the late Prof. A. Gawronski, a great Polish scholar in Indology, appeared. The editors of this grammar were Prof. H. Willman Grabowska and Asst. Prof. E. Sluszkiewicz, pupil of Prof. A. Gawronski. Although this grammar has been known only a few years and although it was published in Polish it enjoys a well merited reputation among the savants so much that before the outbreak of the war there

was a proposal to translate it into several Western European languages.

It is well known that the Polish Universities have been closed by the German Authorities. As long as the University of Lwow was under Russian occupation Prof. St. Stasiak with whom I worked upto March 1940 was Director of the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the Lwow University. In 1941 Lwow was occupied by the Germans and many Polish Professors were shot, many deported and sent to concentration-camps. The fate of Prof. Stasiak and of the Asst. Prof. E. Sluszkiewicz is unknown. The University of Cracow was closed by the Germans in November 1939. A great many professors were sent to concentration-camps in Germany. According to unofficial news Prof. H. Willman Grabowska, as a woman, was not included in the list. Unfortunately in 1942 Prof. St. Schayer died in Warsaw. He was a great scholar in Indology and Ancient Indian Philosophy. This loss is for the Polish Science all the more sorrowful as there are in Poland only a few scholars in Indology.

APPENDIX VII

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

[Below we publish the statement read, on 5th January 1943, by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, on the occasion of the presentation of the Āraṇyakaparvan of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh and the publication of a fascicule of the Sabhāparvan in connection with the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

—R. N. D.]

It is now more than seventeen years since I took over charge of the Mahābhārata work and reorganized, on somewhat different lines, this Department of the Institute, having profited by the experiences and experiments of my predecessor, the late lamented Mr. Utgikar. During this interval the Institute has published Critical Editions of four complete Books of the Mahābhārata: Ādiparvan (1933), Virāṭaparvan (1936), the Udyogaparvan (1940), and now the Āraṇyakaparvan (1942). These four

parvans comprise, according to the Parvasaṁgrahaparvan, about 28,400 ślokas. In addition to this a fascicule of the Sabhāparvan edited by Prof. Franklin Edgerton of Yale University (U. S. A.), which has been ready for some time and which could be taken up for printing only owing to the very generous special grant of Rs. 10,000 recently made by the Government of Bombay, is being published today. Furthermore, the press-copy of the Bhīsmaparvan, which is being edited by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, is almost ready and is now undergoing final revision at the hands of its editor. It will be ready for being sent to the press very shortly. In fact the work is advanced as far that it can be got ready for the press within three months. But can we send it to the press ? Not unless we can find a generous donor prepared to pay for the cost of the printing of the new volume, in these days when the cost of printing has almost doubled. The present financial situation of the Department is such that we can just manage to get the press-copies ready; but the large world of scholars outside the walls of this Institute, eagerly awaiting the appearance of our now-famous yellow-covered fascicules, must unfortunately be kept waiting until more funds are available.

Any way, during the past 17 years the Institute has critically dealt with the first 6 parvans of the Great Epic : the Ādi, Sabhā, Āraṇyaka, Virāta, Udyoga and Bhīṣma. The six parvans make up a total of about 36,800 ślokas, out of an aggregate of 82,150 ślokas, a portion which is approximately 45% of the entire Mahābhārata, excluding, of course, the Harivaṁśa, which I have kept out of my calculation in order not to frighten you too much. Even this is no mean achievement, I think. The part of the epic critically dealt with so far is, I imagine, in bulk about four times as great as the Greek epics, Iliad and Odyssey put together and one and a half times as our Rāmāyana.

That a work of this nature and these dimensions is not one man's job is very very evident. Many friends, collaborators, sympathisers and patrons have contributed to such measure of success as has been achieved so far, and they include among them princes and potentates, curators and librarians, printers and parvan-editors, not to speak of the General Editor and his modest staff of collators in the background. Surely, the most

potent among these multifarious contributory factors have been our generous patrons, who, out of regard for this venerable monument of Indian antiquity, this great and lustrous heritage of Bhāratavarṣa, have in the past liberally supplied the Institute, through all these years, with funds to carry on this costly but vital work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I must tell you frankly this is a costly work. All good work costs money now-a-days! Good manuscripts cost money. Good printing costs money. Good editors cost money.

The British nation once paid out one million pounds for one rare Ms. of the Bible. Would India pay a similar amount for any book? Why not? Are the British people greater lovers of books, greater lovers of literature, greatar lovers of religion, greter lovers of knowledge than we Indians? Certainly not. Great Britain is a small nation, a young nation, compared to India. And our love of knowledge, love of literature, love of scriptures, is greater. We are the inheritors of the great book, this "book of books" composed at a time when Great Britain was not yet entered on the map of civilized nations. And the entire cost of making this Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata is only one million rupees- and not pounds - which is only 15% of the cost of the Bible. We have collected and spent already 5 lakhs of rupees. We want now only 5 lakhs more. And we are not pessimistic about it. We have no reason to be that. When the war clouds have passed away, better days will surely dawn for us; then the thoughts of men will again turn to the preservation and growth of cultural values. We shall then, I am confident, enjoy the same generous support from patrons of learning as we have hitherto enjoyed and that will help us to carry to completion one of the most important of our national projects.

If you want me to point out to you just one man who is responsible for originating and furthering the project, he is sitting in front of you, I mean, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, the Raja of Aundh.

The question may occur to you. Is it worth all this expenditure? Whether we realize it or not, we still stand under the spell of the Mahābhārata. Amid the deepest strands that are

woven in the thread of our civilization, there is more than one that is drawn originally from Bhāratavarsa and from Sanskrit literature. And well in the centre of this vast mass of literature, there stands this deathless, traditional book of divine inspiration, unapproachable and far removed from possibilities of human competition.

There is a danger that in our pseudo-scientific mood, we may be tempted to discard this great book, thinking that we have outgrown it. That would be a capital blunder! That would in fact mean nothing but an indication of our will to commit suicide, national suicide, the signal of our national extinction. For never was truer word spoken than when the late German Indologist Hermann Oldenberg said that "in the Mahābhārata breathe the united soul of India, and the individual souls of her people." And why is that? Because the Mahābhārata is the national saga of India. It is, in other words, the content of our collective unconscious. And just for that reason it refuses to be discarded. We must therefore grasp this great book with both hands and face it squarely. Then we shall recognize that it is our past which has prolonged itself into the present. *We are it*: I mean the real WE! Shall we be guilty of strangling our own soul? NEVER!

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SILVER JUBILEE ADDRESS

(*Monday, 4th January 1943*)

BY

Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN

I appreciate the great honour which your Council has done me by asking me to give the address on the auspicious occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which is our nation's tribute to the life and work of a master intellect, a noble soul and a moving force in Indian Renaissance and Sanskrit studies. The Institute was founded with the object of "promoting among its members a spirit of inquiry into the history of our country -literary, social and political- and of affording facilities to outsiders engaged in the same pursuit."[1] Poona has been for long a home of Sanskrit learning and it has become more so by the establishment of this centre of study and research. In the first few years, the Institute worked under the direct guidance of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and thereafter his example has been a great inspiration to the workers. By his own works on *The Early History of the Deccan, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and minor Religious systems, Wilson Lectures on Philology* and study of inscriptions and manuscripts, he has left for us an enduring example of precise work and exact scholarship. It is interesting to know

[1] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Inaugural Address delivered on the 15th of December, 1918.

his views about the qualifications of a good research student. "One who enters into that field is required to be a man of exceptional intelligence, a man with a clear head and with very acute and keen reasoning powers. The next requisite and a very essential requisite is that there must be curiosity in him; and the third requisite is that there must be a freedom from bias and thorough impartiality in forming an opinion on any question that comes forward." He lived up to the standard which he laid down and enjoyed the highest reputation among his equals, Indian and European. The wish *samānānām uttamaśloko bhavatu* was realised in his case to the fullest extent.

A period of twenty-five years is not much in the history of an institution like this, but when we realise that it was the first research institute for Indological studies established by us and it had to pass through the period of the armistice between the two wars, when our country was also plunged into widespread agitation more than once, it is a matter for thanksgiving that the Institute has been privileged to carry on its work unhampered by the events of the world. The Institute may well take the credit for the establishment of the All-India Oriental Conference and we are grateful to it for the collection of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts, and for cataloguing them on scie ntific lines, for its *Annals*, for the publication of important works through the Government Oriental Series, including that monumental and standard production on Dharmaśāstra by Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor P. V. Kane, and for the publication of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata under the devoted and distinguished editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, and his scholarly colleagues like Dr. S. K. Belvalkar who have dedicated their lives to the pursuit of Sanskrit learning. All this is work of supreme importance to our country and the world. The Institute is grateful to the people, the princes, one of whom presides over the meeting today and another, to whose enlightened generosity the undertaking of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata owes a great deal, is the Chairman of the Regulating Council, and the Government of Bombay. I have just had the pleasure of handing the Silver Jubilee medals to five of the chief workers of the Institute.

The Institute was established during the last world war and is celebrating its Jubilee in the second world war when the world is filled with unhappy hates. It only shows that even when the world is plunged in flames it is the duty of intellectuals to preserve the heritage of reason and speak for the tradition of civilisation. When a professor of Oxford was asked in the last war as to why he was not in the front when the war for civilisation was being fought, he replied: " I am the Civilisation for which they are fighting." In the present war which is so vast, intimate and ultimate that it reaches to the very roots of human life, we must speak out and recall men, whose ideas of right and wrong have been artificially perverted, to the true values. The evil of the world is not the product of a malignant fate but of a deadly blindness. Plato says: " Must we not suppose that the souls which have the finest natural endowment are precisely those that tend to go sensationally to the bad under the influence of a bad education? When one looks into the great crimes and the examples of unmitigated wickedness, does one find that these are the fruits of second rate character? Are they not apt rather to be the fruits of a vitality that has been corrupted by a wrong upbringing? Is it not the fact that a weak character is never the author of anything great-either for good or for evil?" Our ideas of right and wrong, the meaning of life and its purpose require to be reconsidered. The belief in the perfectibility of man, in the omnipotence of reason, in the certainty of progress cannot be sustained, if we look at the contemporary world where reason is enchained, the pillars of society are cracking and man has no desire to become perfect but only wishes to have a good time. We have a civilisation of the cinema and the radio, cheap press and sex novels, a civilisation which exalts mysticism of the senses, which looks upon morality as an outworn sham, art as a sedative and literature as an escape. It is not without its glory for even though brutality masquerades as strength, the tough virtues of courage and endurance of loyalty and discipline are practised by millions. But these minor moralities are not enough. There are certain things without which we cannot live and certain other things without which we should not care to live. The present times which are

rich in knowledge, organisation and discipline show how these great means are being harnessed to primitive ends of group loyalties and collective forms of selfishness. The primordial fires of tribe, race and nation are still burning. When the mask is torn away in a crisis like the present one, our primitive countenance is revealed. We have a civilisation which is rich in means and poor in ends. We have lost our way and to get back to it, we must study the visions and achievements of man at his best and return to the true principles of life. We require to be educated not merely for life but for the good life. We need a knowledge of ends also.

If there is one country in the world which has borne persistent witness to the truths of spirit in spite of changes of fortune, social convulsions and political upheavals, it is India. The sustaining power of the faiths to which she has given birth, the warm hospitality with which she welcomed all creeds, the temples, mosques, and churches which the dreamers of every faith have built to draw near to the heaven of their imagining, the sacred places of the human spirit which conquerors from abroad sought to profane and enslave to glorify their special creeds have made India hallowed ground for us all. The marvellous continuity of our civilisation which has been preserved in its essentials in spite of repeated attacks from within and without shows that her significance is unexhausted. Archaeologists have revealed to us not only the great antiquity, but also the vast extent of the Hindu civilisation. Hindu cities and temples were unearthed at Anuradhapura in Ceylon, at Borobudur in Java and at Anghkor in Cambodia. Hindu influence on Greece and Palestine through Indian soldiers in Persian armies and Aśoka's missions is gradually being unfolded. Sir Aurel Stein has traced Indian settlements and caravan routes through the desert of Central Asia right up to the great wall of China. Buddhism found its way across the Indian borders into Mongolian countries about the second century B. C. For 600 years from the reign of Kaniska to that of Harṣa cultural relationships between the Indians and the Chinese were uninterrupted. Chinese pilgrims who visited the holy places of India have left valuable records of their journeys

and many Buddhist works of which the originals are lost survive in Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan versions. Even in recent times, the names of Schopenhauer, Hartmann, Nietzsche, Deussen, Keyserling, Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, W. B. Yeats, George Russell, Romain Rolland, Aldous Huxley remind us of the vitality of Indian civilisation and its value for the modern world whose mind is obsessed by science, scepticism and the anguish of denial.

If the world with its mixing of cultures and mingling of races is to be rebuilt, the process of gradual integration of heterogeneous people described in our ancient classics may have some lessons for us. India has never been exclusive unlike some of the great nations of antiquity. Speaking of Greece and Rome, Macaulay observes, "The fact seems to be that the Greeks only admired themselves and that the Romans admired only themselves and the Greeks."[1] India, on the other hand, was never obsessed by the cult of self-sufficiency. Even in the work of this Institute we have the collaboration of Indian and European scholars. Indian society is a complex thing, the result of a slow growth, manifold in its source, varied in its build. Indian people are made up of the most extraordinary mingling of races and cultures and the spirit of India is more intangible, more ample, more contradictory, more incalculable than that of other peoples. It escapes definition and is the despair of the scientific historian. It is definitely impressive as it has dominated Indian memory and imagination from the beginning of her history. Frequently she was fascinated by other cultures, but never subjugated.

Today when our art and literature, when our social and political programmes are filled with the voices of despair, the need for voicing India to herself and to the world has arisen. In studying the ancient classics we must have intense historical imagination which alone can turn learning into wisdom, clothe the old strength in a new form. You have for your motto *tejasvi nāvadhītamastu.* Knowledge must become power,

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[1] *Miscellaneous Writings* (History) 1860, Vol. I. p. 268.

radiance, illumination. To attain to truth is not to crowd the memory but to illumine the mind. May knowledge grow into wisdom We know very little and when we know enough of our ignorance we will kneel down and pray. When asked what constituted wisdom Confucius replied: "To cultivate earnestly our duty towards our neighbour and to reverence spiritual beings while always maintaining a due reserve may be called wisdom." A spirit of reverence towards eternal things, goodwill and a troubled concern over the waywardness of men and the misfortunes of people, respect for the freedom and dignity of the human spirit are the marks of wisdom. Human beings are not charged particles in ceaseless motion, but living spirits, and to enable them to realise their spiritual possibilities is the end of all social institutions. Any one who looks at the present condition of India will tell us that it is no use talking about the vanished glory and faded greatness when we are engulfed in a common shame. We have lost nerve and heart. We are tired in mind and body. In the presence of urgent needs, we reveal a curious sense of apathy. In the face of desperate crises we wait for something to turn up. Our leaders seem to be as it were in Plato's cave conversant not with mankind but with their shadows.

While the spirit of India can never die, the social institutions which do not embody it must be scrapped While the foundations which our fathers laid are sure and sound, the superstructure requires to be altered. If the fair name of India is to be redeemed from the charges of senility and sterility, our mind must be liberated from the thraldom of outworn customs and corrupt practices. While we are the heirs to the spiritual treasures of our venerable teachers and saints, we are also the pioneers of a new order of development. We must create a future India with new conceptions of life and duty. The misfortune of revolutionists is that they are disinherited. The good fortune of radical reformers like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is that they know that while the past cannot be blotted out, movement is the essence of life. While he lived under a continuing vision of the unseen he let the ancient light shine on all the

questions which are agitating us, the misery and struggle of humanity, the vulgar worship of wealth, the sadness and pain of the dispossessed. While he was a practising theist, he was also an ardent reformer. In his Presidential Address at the Ninth Indian Social Conference held in 1893, he said:

"And most of the reforms we advocate involve no break of continuity. Some of them will be welcomed by the orthodox people themselves, and as regards a great many others, what we propose is merely to go back to the more healthy condition in which our society once existed. In ancient times girls were married after they had attained maturity, now they must be married before; widow marriage was in practice, now it has entirely gone out; women were often highly educated and taught music and dancing, now they are condemned to ignorance and denied any accomplishments. The castes were only four in number, now they are innumerable. Inter-dining among those castes was not prohibited, now the numberless castes that prevail cannot have inter-communication of that nature. Consistently with the maintenance of continuity in this manner, there ought to be, I think, as much action as possible. A strong public opinion must be created among the whole body of educated natives condemning any departure from the programme of reform while no mercy should be shown to one who does what even the orthodox disapprove, and at sixty, marries a girl of ten or twelve, or another wife immediately after the death of the first. The exhibition of any caste partiality must also be severely condemned, as no religious rules require it. Unless we act in this manner, all our advocacy of reform will sink into merest sentimentality more demoralising in its effect than sturdy orthodoxy."[1]

An inarticulate idealism which is too noble to be at ease with the chaotic conditions in India and too feeble to improve the situation will not do. We must brush aside the passive obstruction of ignorance and inertia and the powerful ones of dogmatic authority and vested interest. As the guardians of the essential wisdom of India, as the trustees of the humane learning

[1] Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, page 497.

and social idealism of this land, it is your great function to preserve and transmit to future generations the burning faith in the spirit and equality of man which will consume selfishness and destroy bondage. Those who are directly connected with the working of the Institute can look back on the twenty-five years, note the difficulties encountered and overcome and can indicate to us the detailed ways and means by which the work of the Institute can be furthered. I hope very much that the important work which the Institute has undertaken will not be hampered by lack of funds. It will be a libel on our princes and merchants to suggest that their generosity will fail in the matter of this great cultural enterprise. It only remains for me to express to you, on behalf of the people of this ancient land, Benares Hindu University and of myself, our deepest gratitude for your noble work and our prayerful wishes that the Institute and its band of workers may prosper even more in years to come.

THE INFLUENCE OF POPULAR DIALECTS ON SANSKRIT *

BY

S. M. KATRE

Our ancient scriptures tell us that every man is born burdened with three debts which he should endeavour to liquidate during his term of life to the best of his ability : the three *ṛṇas* to the gods, to the ancestors and to the *ṛṣis*. Of these the first two are practically within the means of most of us : we maintain our gods with due reverence and pomp. Witness for instance, the worship of the Elephant-Faced-God that we have initiated yesterday; and the last census returns show a definite increase in our population. But it is the debt to the *ṛṣis*, both ancient and modern, which is the most difficult to discharge, and which is generally left unpaid. It is thus a matter of great importance that this Institute which commemorates the revered name of a modern *ṛṣi* who made the study of the language of the gods a fascinating one during the second half of the nineteenth century, justly celebrates this occasion in honour of all *ṛṣis*, both ancient and modern. This is an occasion when every man can take stock of his own activities, consider the credit and debit side of his moral and spiritual life, and settle where possible the last of the three debts to the best of his abilities. I am very grateful indeed for the honour the Institute has done me by inviting me to deliver the present address to you this evening, and despite the short notice I have gladly accepted it in the hope that I shall at least partially redeem my *ṛṣi-ṛṇa* by speaking to you on some of the thoughts which have come to me in my own research activities as a result of suggestions thrown out in his many-sided contributions by Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. My only regret is that the present duty has not fallen on more worthy

* Substance of the Address delivered on the occasion of the Ṛṣipañcami Day at the Institute on 15th September 1942.

shoulders, for if you will pardon my saying so, the choice of the present lecturer has not been exceptionally wise or happy. I see before me far worthier scholars than myself who can rightly claim to be the *epigoni* of that great *abhinavaṛṣi* and therefore in a position to render far more valuable service to the cause which he represented in his life and which is crystallized during the past twentyfive years in the activities of this great Institue. If I appear at all before you today it is with the full confidence that the spirit of that *ṛṣi* is present here among us, casting its beneficent influence all around us, and inspiring us to discharge honourably and with equity the spiritual debt due from us to the entire *ṛṣi*hood.

My own introduction to the language of the gods happily came through the two books of Sanskrit which Dr. Bhandarkar made famous during the second half of the nineteenth century; and, but for these two books, I would not have pursued the study of Pāṇini and Patañjali in the orthodox manner. Even apart from this, in spite of his many-sided contributions to the general fund of Indology, Dr. Bhandarkar once more gave a new direction to the moribund interest of the educated masses of not only this province, but practically of the whole of India, in Sanskrit and Sanskritic studies. He combined within himself the best of the East and the West, and with his peculiar synthetic spirit, evolved a new line of approach to our ancient cultural heritage of which Sanskrit or the 'language of the gods' is the chief vehicle of expression. There have been more profound scholars in the East and the West, but none so versatile and equally at home with the East and the West. Naturally when one contemplates on the character and achievements of Sir Ramkrishna, Sanskrit occupies the central position in any estimate, and this tradition is being continued even now by the activities of this Institute in the magnificent critical edition of the Great National Epic, the most stupendous work ever to be undertaken during the present century, and of the highest importance to Indian culture.

The first scientific demonstration that Sanskrit was a spoken idiom is contained within the series of lectures with which

Dr. Bhandarkar inaugurated the Wilson Philological Lectures in 1877 in the University of Bombay. Since then other scholars have taken up that subject, and the chief contributions on the topic have appeared in the *JRAS* during the turn of the century up to the commencement of the last Great World War. In fact I am given to understand that Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane, in his Wilson Philological Lectures during 1913, has extensively dealt with this topic. Sixty years after this memorable event, in 1937, at the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum, the learned General President, Prof. F. W. Thomas, once again raised the subject, not in order to prove that Sanskrit was a spoken medium, but in order to show that in Sanskrit alone one could find the basis for a common language for the whole of India. Nay, he even went further, and declared that he did not feel that the idea of Sanskrit resuming its place as a common literary medium for India was a hopelessly lost cause, since the alternative was either that there should be no such medium (other than English) or the dominance of some particular vernacular, despite unavoidable reluctances. Here we observe a foreign scholar, equally a master of Sanskrit as of Tibetan and Chinese, giving his unbiased opinion, that Sanskrit which was the language of the gods, may once again become the common literary medium of the whole of India and thus descend to earth like the sacred Gaṅgā and purify the accumulated dirt and sins of millenniums.

It is not necessary for me to indicate in any detail the unifying cultural influence of this sacred polished language of ancient India. The supremacy of the Aryan rule in general superimposed a Sanskrit bias on the linguistic systems current in India during the ancient and medieval periods. Not only was the South of India converted to a Sanskrit bias: witness, for instance, the Kanarese and Telugu Literatures of the 9th–10th centuries A. D. which contain, on an average over 90 per cent of pure Sanskritic vocables, so much so that these languages have been classified by their grammarians as prakritic in origin-but they also became the centres for the preservation of Sanskrit culture when the North was overrun by foreign invaders professing a different culture and a different medium of communi-

cation. Even the discident Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī, the religious vehicles of Southern Buddhism and Jainism, had to yield reluctantly to the reaffirmed supremacy of Sanskrit; and so far as Northern Buddhism was concerned, as also later Jainism, Sanskrit once again became the literary medium. With the spread of Sanskrit culture to Greater India, the influence of the language was increasingly f·lt even in the Pacific Islands; Tibetan and Chinese and even distant Japanese have been modified by their contacts with Sankrit language and culture. Thus, for a period of more than four thousand years, Sanskrit, whether in its vedic garb, or in its severely refined classical form as witnessed in Patañjali's Great Commentary, whether in the language known today as Buddhist or Jain Sanskrit, or even in the flowing but not strictly grammatical idiom of the Epics, has maintained a firm grip on the cultural evolution of our country and in the spread of that synthesised culture abroad to China, Japan and the Pacific Islands. Not only that, the so-called 'discovery' of Sanskrit by the Europeans has contributed to the foundation of the new science of Comparative Grammar which is still in its infancy, but which has given a new orientation to the rigorous study of not only the members of the Indo-European family of languages but also of other families. It has incidentally supplied the technical terms for certain linguistic phenomena such as *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. All this is but a minor phase in the development of Sanskrit from its earliest appearance in the vedic hymns to its being employed as medium in technical sciences in the late medieval and modern periods.

When such is the field of Sanskrit and so great the extent of its power and influence over every linguistic unit with which it has come into contact for a period of more than four thousand years, our eyes are generally blinded to the two-fold aspect of 'give and take' which is inevitable in a such a slow but steady process of transformation. We are inclined to take into account only the influence of Sanskrit on other literary mediums and look askance at any proposition which is contrary to the hypothesis of loans from Sanskrit. This bias has led, for instance, to the creation of a special medium which the early linguists of the last century called the Gāthā dialect, particularly

in the compositions of the Northern Buddhists, wherein 'correct', Sanskrit is interspersed with 'incorrect' Sanskrit. Now what is this distinction in the two classes termed 'correct' and 'incorrect' Sanskrit which separates them? I have only to refer you to Dr. Bhandarkar's lectures on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages wherein he quotes extensively from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and arrives at the conclusion that 'correct' Sanskrit represents the medium as 'current' among the *śiṣṭas* or the refined educated class. Thus we arrive at the concept of a 'current' Sanskrit in opposition to a 'non-current' Sanskrit, both comprising what may be termed the speech habits of the refined and educated Aryans of Central India in general, with some local variations already indicated by Pāṇini and delineated in greater detail by Patañjali. A third category is defined by Patañjali by the term *apabhāṣita*- or *apabhraṁśa* or *apabhrasta*, including forms actually 'current' some time during the history of Indo-Aryan, but not among the *śiṣṭas*. As regards the idea of 'currency' both the Vārttikakāra and the Bhāṣyakāra agree on the domain of linguistic usage as consisting of the space-time context and this lively discussion is introduced in the *Mahābhāṣya* by the vārttika '*astyaprayuktah*' and ending with the vārttika '*sarve deśāntare*' and although '*deśa*' signifies 'space' in general, the idea of time is also inherent in it. And it is still a wonder to me that this space-context with its implied time-context which India discovered as vital to a historical study of her linguistic systems, remained dormant for nearly two thousand years, and did not take its central place in modern linguistics (itself the result of the 'discovery' of Sanskrit) until the discovery and decipherment of Hittite and Tocharian and the consequent restudy of the entire history of Indo-European in the light of their individual development. Apart from the significance of this space-time context in the historical development of Indo-Aryan languages themselves, we have to observe the two types of *śiṣṭa* Sanskrit in opposition to the speech habits of the non-*śiṣṭas*, and to that extent we have what may be designated the 'standard' Sanskrit as distinguished from the 'popular' Sanskrit or 'popular dia-

lects' of Sanskrit and to use a more technical term, of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan.

It will be seen from the brief enumeration above that besides the standard forms 'current' among the *śiṣṭas* in their space-time evolution, the Aryan languages themselves possessed 'current' non-*śiṣṭa* forms which I wish to designate in this lecture as the popular dialect forms; in fact Patañjali goes so far out as to indicate the proportion of the standard and popular forms: *ekaikasya hi śabdasya bahavo-' -pabhraṁśāḥ*. The question which I wish to pose before you is this: How far have these popular dialects in their space-time evolution influenced the development of the *śiṣṭa* speech itself? In other words, what is the influence of Popular Dialects on Sanskrit?

In order to approach this problem we have to take into consideration first the nature of Sanskrit itself. This language of the gods, technically designated by linguists as Old Indo-Aryan or the first stage of the Aryan language brought within India, itself consists of several strands of dialects which show their dialectical characteristics in varying degree. For we have shown above that the idea of 'currency' at any given period has to do with regions, and what is 'current' in a particular region may not be *śiṣṭa* for the whole of India. Such peculiarities have been noticed, for instance, in the Ṛgveda. Thus with reference to the Infinitive forms in the Ṛgveda, Brunnhofer has observed that the Ātreyas in the 8th maṇḍala have none in *-tu-*, the Kāṇva in the 1st and 5th maṇḍalas almost none in *-tum* and *-tavai*; similarly the Vasiṣṭhas in the 7th maṇḍala have no absolutive forms in *-tvā́* and *-tvā́ya*, and just one instance in *-tvī́* (if the khila hymn 7, 104, 8 is not taken into consideration). Scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the interpretation of these phenomena; Wackernagel believes that despite these peculiarities the language throughout the Ṛgveda shows unity, notwithstanding the diversity of composition. Are we to consider these as stylistic or artistic peculiarities or as definite signs of dialectical tendencies in the stream of language which goes to constitute what we know today as Sanskrit? For myself, taking account of the entire history of the language

from its earliest appearance to its latest phases, it is evident that from the space-time context consideration of linguitstic facts, all such regional or family peculiarities and the much more certain chronological peculiarities together give us, from the analogical considerations, tributaries forming the life-giving waters of the major stream of language. A consideration of the language of the Ṛgveda itself shows that the 10th maṇḍala exhibits a later phase than the rest of the text; similarly that of the Yajurveda is younger than that of the Ṛgveda; and in this manner we can discover linguistic strata from the Ṛgveda down to the Sūtras constituting the first phase of old Indo-Aryan. Nevertheless the so-called 10th maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda exhibits certain archaisms as well, and these archaisms appear to be consciously attempted.

Now it is reasonable to assume that what is current in a given region at a given period among the *śiṣṭas* may not have currency elsewhere; and the process by which such forms infilter in other regions is one which must occur in point of time-context dependent on several considerations such as the political or cultural importance of the region concerned. In addition there is the linguistic process affecting the already current speech habit of the region in its time-sequence, and these together give us what the Germans call the *Sprachgut* or the linguistic material of that particular region at a given point of time. Thus the new forms which have been evolved in the 10th mandala of the Ṛgveda represent, for instance, the general linguistic evolution of the language in its time sequence. But what of the conscious archaisms? Do they represent a conscious activity the bards to appear more ancient and therefore more authoritative, or do they contain within themselves, at least in a few cases, the infiltering activities of *śiṣṭa* forms current at an earlier period in the same region, or of forms current in another region at that period? To answer these questions is not easy, for we have not sufficient materials with us on which we can base our conclusions. And we have not sufficient experience in these matters in the entire domain of Sanskrit literature, for everywhere we have to face the difficulty of assigning correct chronological or regional limits to any given work of such an ancient date. There is only one way open to us; we

can assume certain possibilities and see if they are borne out in the entire evolution of Indo-Aryan from its oldest phase to the latest. One of such possibilities is the following: forms which were current in popular dialects, – that is, forms current among the non-*śiṣṭa* members of a given region at one period, may receive recognition at a later period from the *śiṣṭas* of that region and be thus given a place in the current expressions of the educated masses. This is a process which is taking place in all linguistic groups; witness, for instance, the evolution of Middle Indo-Aryan into several well-defined regional Prakrit languages like Śaurasenī or Māgadhī, with characteristics ultimately derived from the speech habits of the non-*śiṣṭas*, developing a literature of their own. Similarly Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī which may be called popular or vernacular speech forms in opposition to the refined Sanskrit became the regular literary mediums of religious exposition and reached the status of current speech forms.

Thus we see that in the gradual evolution of Indo-Aryan, when one praticular dialect reaches to the status of a literary medium as current among the *śistas*, other dialects current among the common people may be considered as popular speech forms. Now the question of the interrelationship of these two sets is of importance for us in order to evaluate the interaction of the one on the other. While some type of Sanskrit remained throughout the history of Indo-Aryan as the common literary medium, uniting the whole of cultural India, influencing the various regional languages in their entirety, what was the process by which it gradually assumed its classical shape in contradistinction to Vedic, and culminated in the so-called popular Sanskrit seen in the epics, Buddhist and Jaina compositions? And in this process what was the part played by the popular dialects?

Now as regards classical Sanskrit in opposition to Vedic, the first fact to be noticed is the normalising and simplification of morphology; of the different terminations of the various cases several have dropped out; the number of verbal forms undergoes very great reduction, the perfect and aorist types being limited to the indicative mood only; verbs which admit

of stem shiftings, like the nasal presents, root aorists, etc. have a tendency to disappear; similarly the large number of terminations for the infinitives and absolutives undergoes reduction. Everywhere the normalizing process tends to reduce the richness of the Vedic forms. The middle voice extends to whole verbs when the present stem admitted it in the Vedic. Thus there is a double process of restriction and expansion, of conservation and innovation. This double process cannot be ordinarily explained by any single line of development other than on the basis of being influenced by a group of popular dialects which are ultimately derived from the same common source. Thus, for instance, the significance of *vastra* as 'sky' by an extension of analogy with its partial synonym *ambara*, or of *yuddha-* 'a pair' on analogy with *dvandva-* must have some space-time context connected with them. The extension could not have started in the original region where the partial synonyms would be easily recognisable; if we assume, however, that in a region where *ambara-* alone was current at a period when its partial synonym *vastra-* was being introduced, the extension of the synonym to all the remaining significances of *ambara-* could be easily understood and justified in that context. Thus we should have regions, for instance, where *ambara* and *vastra* coincide only in the sense of 'garment', or in some other sense of either *ambara* or of *vastra*, and if our material is sufficiently exhaustive we shall discover the gradual process of this extension. What is possible within the *śiṣṭa* forms current in different regions is possible to a greater extent with popular dialects, for here, in the absence of a literature which can fix the usages in a well defined limit, we shall have a quick process of absorption and development; at the same time, the absence of a normalizing tendency will keep those forms in their pristine purity to a greater length of time than in the case a literary medium.

In this manner we see on the one hand the regularising process, caused by the tendency to economy of effort in all human activities, reducing the original rich morphological nature of Vedic Sanskrit to its classical form, and introducing

rapid changes; but in this process the literary medium draws its inspiration from some definite region at one time or another and the standard refined language derives its chief characteristics from such contributory dialects and regional languages. It is our duty to find out the extent and manner of such changes introduced in the standard language through constant interaction between it and the popular languages which exist beside it in the different regions during the various periods of history.

In my present address it is not possible to work out the main theme of this investigation in all its details. Like Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita I have to declare at this juncture that only leading features are indicated: *diṅ-mātram iha darśitam.* Let us then turn our attention to the historical development of Sanskrit from its first appearance downwards. It is well known that Sanskrit belongs to the Indo-European family of languages, and that Primitive I-E. did not possess the cerebral series. Yet even in the language of the Ṛgveda the cerebrals have developed completely, while in the Primitive Indo-Iranian period they did not exist. How was this series introduced in Primitive Indo-Aryan? The dental and cerebral series exist also in Dravidian, and the cerebrals also occur in another Indian family, the Kol or Munda. One fact should be noted here: the cerebrals have not been introduced whole-sale in Sanskrit; on the other hand their extension is rather progressive. In the first place cerebrals result from dentals and palatals under certain conditions depending on changes anterior to Sanskrit itself: influence of *ṣ* or **ẓ* and the lateral *r* on the dentals; similarly the palatals *j*, *ś* and *h* as word-finals change to cerebrals; also the cerebral *ṣ* resulting from the other sibilants after an *i* or *u* or *ṛ*. Of these changes the influence of lateral *r* or the vocalic *ṛ* has continued to function within the entire history of certain MI-A. dialects, the cerebralization being particularly noticeable on the Eastern side. We do not know the exact prehistory of the remaining changes: they are anterior to Sanskrit itself; possible influence by Dravidian or Kol in prehistoric times may explain some of these changes; for the interaction of Prearyan and Predravidian has been postulated

for a number of charactertistics found in Indian languages today, and I refer you to the work of the same name published by the University of Calcutta some years back. But we can go back from MI-A. to OI-A on the basis of one tendency at least which has remained active in MI-A.: the cerebralization of dentals in the presence of *r* or *ṛ*: thus Vedic *vikaṭá-* : *vikṛta-* is paralleled by Sk. *kṛta-* : Pk. *kaḍa-*, *mṛta-* : *maḍa-*, *sṛta* : *saḍa-* etc. Similarly the dhātupāṭha root *aṭṭate*, *aṭṭayati* is connected with Sk. *ārtta-*, and the BSk. *aṇṭhati* is derived from Sk. *arthate*, and parallel to this we have in Pk. *ṛddhi-* : *iḍḍhi*, *ardha-* : *aḍḍha-* etc. What is the explanation of this phenomenon? We may believe that the process which affected the OI-A. forms sporadically became more regular in the MI-A.; or else we may consider the possibility of certain regional characteristics of popular dialects affecting the standard literary medium to a certain extent only, but affecting the MI-A. idiom developed within those regions in a more regular manner. In fact even the first alternative is, in effect, a modification of the second one. And we shall not be far wrong in assuming this influence at the basis of such double forms as *bhan-* and *bhaṇ-*, *an-*, *aṇ-* in OI-A., the second being made 'current' by the *śiṣṭas* at a later period through borrowing from some influential MI-A. dialect or language. And so far as any form of OI-A. is concerned every MI-A. form is 'popular'. Hence we can treat this primitive aspect of Sanskrit consonantism as a result of the influence of popular dialects on Sanskrit, whether these popular dialects were Aryan or not; moreover the very fact that the cererbal series was not introduced wholesale within Sanskrit at a given period argues in favour of this gradual influence.

Within Sanskrit itself the normalizing process which affected the rich morphological aspect of the Vedic language has been 'selective'; for instance the absolutive termination of classical Sk. is *-tvā*, whereas the Vedic *-tvāna* survived only in Pāli and other MI-A. languages regularly. This selective process ordinarily cannot be haphazard; for in such a case, it will not be possible to have a uniform language; and the uniformity with which such selection holds for the whole of classical Sanskrit argues for the space-time context to which I referred in the beginning.

If a certain form current at a particular time in a given region becomes the standard form for the whole of Sanskrit because of certain political or cultural aspects centering round that region, at that period, the process of selection is automatically explained. The remaining forms have local currency and survive in the lineal descendants of such local or regional languages or dialects, while the standardised polished language preserves only the particular form on the selective principle. Thus the development of Sanskrit in its space-time context, when discernible, will throw considerable light on this aspect of interaction between the local mediums and itself. It is still a matter of regret that, not withstanding more than a century of modern scientific research in the West and East, we are still far from achieving some measure of success in this enquiry which is so vital to our national development. For Sanskrit contains within itself the seeds of unifying Indian culture once again, and by the process of synthesis which it symbolised within itself by fusing the Prearyan and Predravidian cultures into a distinct Indian culture which spread North and East and left its mark on every aspect of life in those regions during the first thousand years after Christ, it is still capable of unifying the divergent tendencies visible today in our country and evolving a cultural unity which may once again bring a new era of spiritual regeneration in the East and the West.

When we consider the popular Sanskrit of the Hindus, Buddhists and the Jainas we notice a similar extension of popular influence exerted by regional or local languages on the standard medium and giving it a new orientation. Whereas Prakrit literature appears to be a purely artificial production, a kind of protestant reaction eschewing completely all forms which might be considered as the refined Sanskrit, these popular idioms with their learned borrowings of loanwords from Sanskrit and partially standardised morphology reflect the actual state of affairs so far as linguistic habits are concerned. It is not with a Gāthā dialect that we have to do here; on the other hand, we notice here, before our very eyes, the process of interaction between a refined standardised speech and the local or current popular dialects, and evolving a mixed idiom where both

standard and local features inter-mingle without consideration of propriety. We are not hedged in here by the steel frame of Pāṇini and his two followers, the *munitrayam* or the triumvirate of sages who built up a noble edifice without considering the cost involved in their efforts to the lifeblood of the language they were hedging in; we are rather in the jungle where all the diverse elements mix and commingle to evolve a new but rich idiom, like the language of the gods seen in the Veda itself, and which has left its lasting impress on all the modern languages of India. It is not my intenion to tire you with citations from this idiom to demonstrate the degree of popular influence on Sanskrit. Suffice it to say that you will find an accurate description of the Buddhist Sanskrit idiom in Edgerton's papers published during the past six or seven years; and so far as Epic Sanskrit is concerned work is still being continued in this Institute as well as in the Deccan College and the University of Dacca. This rich interaction between the standard form of Sanskrit with the local varieties of MIA. has given to us a pattern followed by the IA. vernaculars as against the protestant Prakrit languages. For even in the earliest NIA. literature now available to us, we notice the occurrence of Sk. loanwords ranging between 40 to 80 percent of the total expressions used. This close mixture of the two, whether in the MIA. or in the NIA. stage, cannot take place without the one affecting the other. However conservative the authors may be in their approach to Sanskrit, in actual Sanskrit usage they will be influenced by their local idioms. Even editors or redactors revising the Mss. of their authors, are prone to commit such unconscious localisations or provincialisms We have hundreds of such instances in the local variants recorded, for instance, in the critical edition of the Great Epic published by this Institute.

The tendency of our ancient commentators in Sanskrit is to consider these local variations as unPāninian, but they have not dared to oppose them as *aśiṣṭa*; they may be *apāṇinīya* but they can never be *aśiṣṭa*, for following the very argument of Patañjali we may say: *mahān śabdasya prayogaviṣayaḥ...etāvantam śabdasya prayogaviṣayam ananuniśamya ' santy aprayuktā ' iti vacanam kevalam sāhasamātram.* ... Such provincial forms which may be

found in the works of Aśvaghoṣa or Kālidāsa cannot be brushed away as ungrammatical; in fact, where the readings are beyond doubt, they have a unique value for us for studying the later development of Sanskrit. And it is a pity that as yet no sustained effort has been made to study these divergences from the Pāṇinian norm in their space-time evolution. The only recent study which I remember in this direction is that of the Paris scholar, Prof. Louis Renou who, in his monograph on Candragomin's Grammar, arrives at the conclusion that this grammarian has incorporated certain new innovations which have already taken place in Sanskrit subsequent to its standardisation by the famous triumvirate before the 1st century B. C. Our grammarians will generally look with askance at such forms, and it is to the credit of Candragomin that he fearlessly incorporated the features of the language current as it was during his own period in his grammar, and did not slavishly follow his predecessors by merely changing the technical terms and the order of the aphorisms.

As we have observed above, the slow changes in the morphology of Sanskrit have been effected through the selective process exerted by the influence of some important local popular dialect at a period when it assumed some political or cultural importance. To a greater extent, and naturally, the vocabulary of Sanskrit has been modified and extended by such influence. I have indicated elsewhere in great detail, so far as the verbal bases of Sanskrit are concerned, that a large percentage of them have been incorporated into Sanskrit through hypersanskritization of MIA. forms. Moreover a good percentage of the substantives have also been derived in this manner. I shall refer just to one instance of such incorporation, particularly in late Sanskrit, as found recorded in a medieval Sanskrit lexicon: *aṅgoñchaḥ*, *aṅgoñchanam* in the lexicon form indicates 'a towel' and it is derivable either from a Sk. *-ūñchati* 'rubs off', a contamination of *ukṣáti*; *ukṣáte* 'sprinkles' and *uñchati* 'gleans', *prokṣati* 'sprinkles', *proñchati* 'wipes out'; or from MIA. **aṅga-puñchana-* > **aṅga-uñchana-* through hypersanskritisation. This is really a very important process from the point of

view of evolving Sanskrit as a national cultural language of India, for the power of Sanskrit to increase its already rich vocabulary by such hypersanskritisations or even learned borrowings or loanwords from the dialectical material actually current in the land is a fact which favours its adoption as a medium of interprovincial communication and a common language of the country as a whole. For whatever be its present position, it is still the chief source from which the modern vernaculars draw their life blood, and in this sense, according to Prof. S. K. Chatterji, Sanskrit cannot be considered as a 'dead' language in the sense that Latin is 'dead'. And even if we raise it to the status of a national language today, there can be no objection because it is actually the source of Aryan-Dravidian India.

It is interesting to note here that in a Chinese-Sanskrit lexicon composed by Li Yen in the 8th century A. D. we find recorded several Central Asian words like *kurta* 'shirt' as pure Sanskrit words. These lexicons have been edited by Dr. Bagchi of the Calcutta University and their linguistic importance has been indicated in a paper read by Dr. Chatterji at the Tirupati Oriental Conference. I only refer to these works here as indicating the extensiveness of the field of investigation which we have before us in order to understand the influence of popular dialects in the evolution of Sanskrit subsequent to the activities of the Munitraya and in spite of them. Similarly the Greek loanwords in Sanskrit have ben discussed by Weber in his paper contributed to the first volume of the *Indian Antiquary* in 1872. Recently Paul Thime has indicated a number of Persian words which have entered the lexicon of Sanskrit, and even Arabic has contributed a number of important vocables to Sanskrit. Although their number is small, their entry in the language of the gods is significant, and points out to the fact already established above that it has in itself the capacity of still growing and becoming even a more important medium for the dissemination of Indian culture, and perhaps the most powerful instrument of research in the future regeneration of our country.

Another important aspect of Sanskrit vocabulary was brought out by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji during the Baroda session of the Oriental Conference where he discussed the nature of some 'translation compounds.' Thus in *tuṇḍi-cela* both words indicate the same idea, one being the translation of the other; similarly Sk. *kareṇu* may also be considered as a compound consisting of two members the first of which may be taken as the exact equivalent of the second, indicating an elephant. We may compare the current expression in the local dailies, *daṅgā-masti* as an even more significant translation compound of a similar type. Thus Sanskrit has introduced a new category in its vocabulary on the basis of popular influence where both members indicate a common idea, but may or may not belong to the same source. Here is an evidence of popular influence which cannot be doubted, and the number of such vocables is increasing in proportion to the advance made in the etymology of Sanskrit vocabulary.

It has been demonstrated with considerable success that many of the new culture words have been borrowed by Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages from Dravidian or Austro-Asiatic. Thus besides the IE. *aśva-* 'horse' Sk. has borrowed a new word *ghota-* or *ghotaka-* as early as the 4th century B. C., and one famous ācārya of Kāmaśāstra is already known as *Ghoṭakamukha* to Vātsyāyana. Similarly in addition to the Sk. word *iṣṭakā* for brick, attested in Iranian also, Przyluski has demonstrated that the modern IA word for 'brick' in India is ultimately derived from Austro-Asiatic. We may hesitate to accept every conclusion of such great importance to the concept of IA. culture on such slender evidence; but if the evidence accumulates on allied cultural topics we cannot neglect the import of such evidence. The words for plantain, betel leaf, etc. as also the word for 'plough' and 'mustard' seem to have come to Sanskrit through the same source. These are fairly early examples of incorporation by Sanskrit. If the entire history of Sanskrit can be unravelled by research we shall probably find a fairly good percentage of such incorporation.

Thus while Sanskrit has influenced the linguistic, spiritual and cultural life of more than two continents, it has in that

slow but continuous process imbibed within itself traces of such contact, and made its own a large part of the vocabulary and grammatical features. It has itself developed from its original shell and spread its branches all over India and the East, and contributed not a little to European culture of the last three centuries. In this enlargement of its original scope and provenance it has broken from the shackles confining it, by the activities of generations of Indians and outsiders. The extent to which it has been influenced by the popular dialects is itself a measure of the greatness of the language to make small concessions while preserving in-tact all its chief characteristics. It is this aspect of the Indian genius which has kept the torch of Indian civilisation burning for well nigh four thousand years: namely making small concessions which do not affect the genius of the language or the culture but keeping solidly the major aspects of both and thereby influencing the other streams which come into contact with it.

We are today faced with deep problems which are bound to affect the very basis of our existence in this country. It is necessary for us to face them with courage, foresight and patience and unflinching idealism. Sanskrit offers for us the surest medium not only to interpret the solution of many of them, but also to bring together the many divergent elements in a cultural unity which is the precursor of all other solutions; and just as it succeeded in the ancient past to weld together both Prearyan and Predravidian and bring into existence a unique Indian culture, so also will it develop a new cultural unity which will give to the post-war reconstruction of the world a new orientation. But much work is necessary for the accomplishment of that great purpose; it is a matter for congratulation that the activity of this Institute is progressively achieving a part of this objective and let me hope that its contribution to the cultural regeneration of our country will be in proportion to the magnitude of its critical edition of the Great Epic.

One such work which is essential for the study of Sanskrit in its space-time context is a new dictionary on scientific

principles and I have written about it in several papers recently contributed to various journals. I am glad to find that there is great activity in learned circles to cooperate whole heartedly in this work of national importance. May this Institute which commemorates the name of an *abhinava Pāṇini*, a veritable *ṛṣi*, succeed in reviving the spirit of the ancient *ṛṣis* and help in unifying the present divergent tendencies in a cultural unity, significantly embedded in the central theme of the Great Epic, which shall bring the Kingdom of Heaven upon Earth, and the Song of the Lord to the heart of every living creature.

RĀGHAVA ĀPĀ KHĀṆḌEKAR OF PUṆYASTAMBHA

-HIS WORKS AND DESCENDANTS

(From A. D. 1750 to 1942)

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Aufrecht makes no mention of an author of the name Rāghava who flourished in Mahārāṣṭra in the latter half of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. Mr. S B. Dikshit, however, records some information about him in his *History of Indian Astronomy*[1] but his account is confined to Rāghava's works on *jyotiṣa* only. I propose, therefore, to record in this paper some more information about the family and genealogy of this author together with a description of his works hitherto unknown to the historians of Sanskrit literature.

In the library of the Scindia Oriental Institute[2] two Mss. of

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[1] Pub. at Poona, 1896, pp. 297-298 — I note here some points from Mr. Dikshit's account of Rāghava and his works.—

(1) Rāghava (= *R*) was the resident of *Paroḷe* in Khāndesh to the South of Tapi river. He also resided at *Punyastambha* (*Puntāmbe*) in the Ahmadnagar District, where he composed some of his works.

(2) *R*'s surname was *Khāṇḍekar* and his father's name was *Āpāpant*.

(3) He composed the *gaṇitagranthas* खेटकृति and पञ्चांगार्क and a *jātaka-grantha* called पद्धतिचन्द्रिका.

(4) खेटकृति was composed in *Śaka 1732* = A. D. *1810*

(5) पञ्चांगार्क was composed in *Śaka 1739* = A. D. *1817*, at *Puṇtāmbe*. He also composed a commentary on it.

(6) पद्धतिचन्द्रिका was completed at *Puṇtāmbe* in *Śaka* 1740 = A. D. *1818*. A commentary on it was composed by आपा गोस्वामि, son of राम, of the surname खिरे. This commentator resided at रेवडा village (कृष्णातीरांतर्गत).

[2] *List of Ujjain Mss*, 1941, p. 44—These Mss were copied in *Saṁvat 1894* or *S'aka 1759* = A. D. *1837*. A Ms of खेटकृति dated Śaka, 1738 = A. D. *1816* is available in the B. B. R. A. Society (Ms No. 227—H. D. Velankar's Catalogue).

Rāghava's खेटकृति copied in A. D, *1838* have been deposited recently. Āpāji Raghunath (= Rāghava) Khandekar, the son of Rāghava published a lithograph edition of this work in 1889. Śivarām[1] Āpāji Khandekar, the grandson of Rāghava, showed me a copy of this edition on 10th September 1942 and kept at my disposal some Mss of the works of Rāghava. As these works are not known to Sanskrit scholars I have thought it advisable to record below some details regarding these Mss, and the information they furnish regarding Rāghava's literary activity towards the close of the rule of the Peshwas in Mahārāṣṭra and the advent of the British Raj in India.

Some years ago Vaidya Śivaram Khandekar published a list of Rāghava's works so far discovered. He has handed over to me a copy of this printed list which records the following works :—

(1) खेटकृति
(2) पंचांगार्क
(3.) पद्धतिचन्द्रिका

} published in 1889.[2]

(4) कोशावतंस (पूर्वार्ध) प्रथमगुच्छ only available. This is a Sanskrit lexicon arranged according to finals. Rāghava illustrates in this lexicon the different meanings of words in self-composed verses of high poetic value. These verses are composed in a variety of metres. The उत्तरार्ध of this lexicon has not yet been available to Vaidya Śivarāmpant, who informs me, however, that some verses from this उत्तरार्ध or द्वितीयगुच्छ of this

[1] Śivarām Āpāji was born on 2nd January 1884. He maintains the tradition of Sanskrit learning established by his grand-father Rāghava. He passed his Matriculation in 1909. He has studied Sanskrit according to shastric methods and has studied Āyurveda also. He has been practising as an Āyurvedic physician at Nasik for several years. He has collected as many Mss of his grand-father's works as he could discover in his family records and elsewhere. At present he is engaged in publishing Rāghava's " कोशावतंस " a lexicon so far unknown to Sanskritists. His Nasik address is :—Khandekar's Wādā, Aditwar Peth (House Nos. 817-818).

[2] Evidently Mr. S. B. Dikshit in his *History of Indian Astronomy* published in 1896 has made use of these published editions of 1889. Aufrecht (CCI, 321) mentions पद्धतिचन्द्रिका (jyotiṣ) by a son of Vāsudeva (Bikaner 322).

lexicon have been quoted in an edition of the Amarakośa published by the N. S. Press, Bombay.[1]

(5) अनेकार्थध्वनि मंजरी	(13) शतश्लोकी (Ms)
(6) कृष्णविलासबंध (Ms)	(14) माधवगीतसुधा (Ms)
(7) कृष्णार्याशतक (Ms)	(15) श्री विष्णोर्द्वितीयशतक (Ms)
(8) वासुदेवार्याशतक (Ms)	(16) वेङ्कार्यापंचाशती (Ms)
(9) सुभाषित आर्या (Ms)	(17) श्री कविकौस्तुभ महाकाव्य (दूषण कथन)[2]
(10) आर्या पंचशातिका स्तोत्र (Ms)	(18) श्री महालक्ष्मी स्तोत्र (Ms)
(11) योगराजः (Ms)	(19) श्री कृष्णनामाष्टक (Ms)
(12) श्री शिवस्याष्टक	(20) श्री गंगाष्टक

I shall now describe the Mss.[3] of some of these works made available to me by Vaidya Khandekar :—

[1] In spite of financial difficulties Vaidya Khandekar has succeeded in publishing the प्रथमगुच्छ of कोशावतंस, with the help of Shrimant Babasaheb Ghorpade, the Chief Saheb of Ichalkaranji and other patrons of Sanskrit learning in Mahārāṣṭra.

[2] This is not a work of Rāghava. A Ms of this work belonged to Rāghava and is found in his collection.

It begins :—" श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ अथ काव्यप्रबंधानां शल्यरूपात्समासतः । दोषान्वक्ष्ये क्रमेणैव पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रदर्शितान् ॥ १ ॥ "

It ends :—" रघुनाथमुखारविंदतो विगलत्पद्यलसन्मणि स्रजा ।

इति तद्रचयंतु सुंदरं किलकंठाभरणं विपश्चितः ॥ १०७ ॥

॥ ध ॥ इति श्रीकविकौस्तुभे महाकाव्यकविकलावतंसमनोहरोपनामक कृष्णपंडितसूनु श्रीमल्लिकंभट्टसूरिसुत श्रीमद्रघुनाथपंडितकविकृतौ दूषणकथनं नाम द्वितीयं रत्नं ॥ श्री ॥ " —After this the Ms has the following endorsement in different ink :—" ॥ पुस्तकमिदं खांडेकरोपनामक आपाजीपंतात्मजरघुनाथनाम्न. सत्यं । श्रीमत्पुण्यस्तंभक्षेत्रे लिखापितं ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मी वासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ "

[3] Dr. R. G. Harshe has described two Mss of the works of Rāghava Āpā Khāṇḍekar in the Gorhe collection of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona (Vide p. 28 of his Cata. of this collection, Poona 1942). These Mss are :—(1) तिथिसारोद्धार by Rāghava (Ms No. 82) which is based on स्मृत्यर्थसार, हेमाद्रि, माधव, निर्णयामृत, निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिदर्पण as stated by the author in verses 1 and 2 at the beginning of the work; (2) चन्द्रप्रभापद्धति (Ms No. 83) or पद्धतिचन्द्रप्रभा which is an abridgment by Rāghva of his *jātakapaddhatis* as stated by him in verse 1 at the beginning. In the colophon the work is called पद्धतिचन्द्रिका. राघवभट्ट the author of तिथिसारोद्धार is different from our राघव कवि. Prof. G. V. Devasthali reports a Ms of this work which is dated A. D. 1759 (Śaka 1681).

(1) श्रीमहालक्ष्मी स्तोत्र – (5″ × 4¼″) folio 3, verses 17.

Begins:—" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
अमरीकबरामरतरुपुष्पस्रग्गंधसक्तमधुपीभिः ।
मुखरितमजमुखसुरंनुतमिंदीव(व)रजाने नमामि पदकंजं ॥"

Ends:—
" आर्या मणिमयमालां समर्पितां राघवेण यदि देव्याः ।
कंठे कुर्वंदास्य श्रीसुतधनशं समाप्नुयाच्चक्रः ॥ १७ ॥
इति श्रीलक्ष्मीस्तोत्रं संपूर्णं ॥ श्रीजगदंबार्पणमस्तु ॥ छ छ
शाके १७४५ सुभानुनामाब्दे ज्येष्ठकृष्णत्रयोदश्यां रवौ खांडेकरोपनाम वासुदेवात्मज बाळकृष्णस्य पुस्तकं ॥"

(2) अध्यात्मरामायणस्तोत्रः— (one folio 12¾″ × 4½″ and another 4½″ × 6½″) 10 verses.

Begins:—" ॥ श्री ॥ अथ श्रीरामायण स्तोत्रं ॥
गेाभारं व्यपनेतुमादिपुरुषः संप्रार्थितो वेधसा
पुत्रत्वेजसुतेन भूरितपसा संयान्वितस्तस्त्रियां ।
भूत्वा कौशिकयज्ञरक्षणमथोह्लल्पोद्धृतिं भूभवो-
द्वाहं भार्गवदर्पनाशमकरोत्तं रामचंद्रं भजे ॥ १ ॥" ॥ अ. कां. ॥

Ends:— " नवश्लोकमिदं रामचरितं पापनाशनं ।
आविर्भूय हृदंभोजे कृतवान् राघवः स्वयं ॥ १० ॥
श्रीराघवविरचितं मध्यात्मरामायणस्तोत्रं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥"

(3) शतश्लोकीः— (folios 20, size 7½″ × 5¼″) 103 verses.

Begins:—" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वतियनमः श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवाय नमः
श्रीगौरीतनयं ससिद्धिमखिलेशान्ब्रह्मकृष्णेश्वरान्
सावित्रीं कमलामुमां स्वापितरौ सूर्यादिखेटान् गुरून् ।
वागीशां तुलसीप्रवेशसमयद्वैपायनं यः स्मरेत्-
मांगल्येष्वखिलेषु यानसमितौ तस्यास्ति सिद्धिर्ध्रुवा ॥ १ ॥"

Ends:— " नाधीताः स्मृतयो न शास्त्रमपि नो पौराणि तंत्राणि नो
वेदांगं न च कोककाव्यपटुवाक् नो बालभाषागिरः ।
एवं सत्यपि राघवेण रचिता त्वत्पादभूषा शुभा
स्वश्चामामृतपुष्टया निजगिरा तुष्टये तव श्रीपते ॥ १०२ ॥

कहावर्लि शतश्लोकीं श्रीहरेस्तुतिगर्भितां ।
विलोकयंतु सरला अवमुक्त्यै सुपंडिताः ॥ १०३ ॥श्री०॥

श्रीमद्वासुदेवपदपंकजरसास्वादनपरैकमानस खांडेकरोपनामकआपासुत-राघवविरचितशतश्लोकी संपूर्णतामगमत् ॥ तत्र शके १७४३ ॥ कार्तिक कृष्ण ॥ १ मंदे वास्तव्य श्रीगोदातटविलसत्पुण्यस्तंभाभिधे क्षेत्रे ॥ ६ ॥ शुभं भवतु श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ ६ ॥ "

(4) वासुदेवार्या शतकः—folio 12 (8″ × 5″) verses 101.

Begins:— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

रासायासजलार्द्रोद्भितकंचुकयंगनाभिराभितोजः ।
आश्लिष्टश्चंदनतरुरिवरेजेत्यतुमोकभुजगीभिः ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends:—

" नाधीतशास्त्रविस्तर आपासुत राघवो रमाजानेः ।
स्तोत्रं तत्प्रेरणयाकरोत्प्रसन्नोस्त्वनेनभक्तसखा ॥ १०१ ॥

श्रीखांडेकरोपनामकेनापाजीसुतराघवपंतेन विरचितं श्रीवासुदेवार्याशतकं स्तोत्रं संपूर्णं ॥ श्रीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥ शके १७४२ विक्रमाब्दे ज्येष्ठ शु. ॥ ५ गुरौ श्रीमद्गोदातटविलसपुण्यस्तंभाभिदे(धे) क्षेत्रे रचितमिदं ॥ " छ छ

(5) कृष्णार्याशतकः— folios 12 (8″ × 5″) verses 104.

Begins:–" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीपल्लिनाथायनमः॥
विष्ण्वंशभृगुवरः खलु विद्यार्थी शिष्यतां गतो यस्य ।
तत्सकलसिद्धिदातुर्भक्तार्थमुपासको न को नाम ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends:— " हृदयस्थ वासुदेवो राघवदासं यथैव प्रेरयति ।
स तथा कृत्वार्याशतमणिमालां तत्पदे समर्पयति ॥ १०४ ॥

इति श्रीराघवविरचितं श्रीकृष्णार्याशतकं समाप्तं ॥ ॥

शके १७३९ ईश्वरनामाब्दे मार्गशिर्ष शुद्ध ११ भृगुवासरे तद्दिने इदं आर्या शतकं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ इदं सखारामेण लिखितं शुभमस्तु ॥ ॥ ॥ " छ छ छ

(6) श्रीविष्णोः द्वितीयशतकं:— folio 16, ($7\frac{1}{2}$″ × $5\frac{1}{2}$″) verses 104.

Begins:– "श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीवासुदेवाय नमः ॥
यस्य स्मरणमात्रेण विपत्कोटिशतैरपि ।
आवृतो मुच्यते जंतुस्तं देवं प्रणमाम्यहं ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends:— " शतः श्लोकानिमान्पुण्यान् राघवेण विनिर्मितान् ।
यः पठेत्तस्य श्रीविष्णोः प्रसादो भविता ध्रुवं ॥

श्रीमद्बापाप्रंतात्मजखांडेकरोपाह्वयराघवकविविरचितं द्वितीयं शतकं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ शुभं भूयात् ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणं ॥ "

(7) देव्यार्यापंचाशती:— folio 5, ($7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$) verses 51.

Begins:— " ॐ ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

अथ देव्यार्यापञ्चाशती प्रारंभः ॥
यस्यांघ्रिरजःस्नपनं वांछंतीशादयोपि तस्य हरेः ।
वक्षो मंडनकर्त्री मम कुलधात्रीं श्रीयं नमाम्यनिशं ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends:— " आर्यामणिमंजीरः समर्पितो राघवेण पदि देव्याः ।
अस्य क्वणितं मधुरं श्रुण्वंतु जयेप्सवो बुधाः सरलाः ॥ ५१ ॥

श्रीमद्बापासुतखांडेकरोपनामराघवेण विरचिता देव्यार्यापंचाशती समाप्ता ॥ श्रीमहाकालीमहालक्ष्मीमहासरस्वत्यर्पणमस्तु ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ॥ शके १७४५ सुभानुनामाब्दे आश्विशु. ॥ १० ॥ विजयाख्यायां समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ "

(8) चतुर्विंशतिनामव्याख्यार्या — folios 4 ($7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$) - 26 verses.

Begins:— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

श्रीकेशवादिकृष्णांतानां नाम्नां करोमि शुभव्याख्यां ।
आर्यावृत्तां सात्वतप्रीत्यै प्रतिभानुसारतः शुद्धां ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends:—

" नामव्याख्यातुलसीमालां मुक्ताधिकां सुभक्तिरसां ।
हरिचरणस्थां राघवक्लृप्तां के धारयंतु सद्विबुधाः ॥ २६ ॥

इति केशवादिचतुर्विंशतिनामव्याख्या समाप्ता ॥
श्रीपल्लीनाथार्पणमस्तु ॥ "

(9) कृष्णनामाष्टक or कृष्णाष्टकः— folios 2, ($8'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$) 9 verses.

Begins:— " ॐ श्री ॥ श्रीकृष्णाष्टकं लिख्यते ॥

मृगमदशोभितभालं नवघननीलं व्रजांगनाबालं ।
स्वकथाधर्षितकालं दनुजकरालं नमामि गोपालं ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends:—

" मर्दित कालियनागं निखिलासंगं सुरेन्द्रनीलांगं ।
तल्पीकृतसितभुजगं भक्त्यनुरागं नमाम्यघुम्भगं ॥ ८ ॥

कृष्णनामाष्टकं स्तोत्रं पवित्रं राघवकृतं ।
यः पठेत् तस्य सर्वत्र जायंते जयसंपदः ॥ ९ ॥"

(10) आर्यापञ्चाशतिका स्तोत्र :— folios 7 (8" × 4½") verses 53.

Begins:— "ॐ श्री ॥ ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवाभ्यां नमः ॥

आवाह्यांतर्लक्ष्ये शंखगदार्यब्जपाणिमह्याभं ।
लक्ष्म्यंकं च महोमयगात्रं श्रीवासुदेवमहमीडे ॥ १ ॥"

Ends:—

"आर्यासराघवोह्यावल्यार्यारचितरन्तमालाना ।
हरिशेषामिव कंठे कुर्वन्संसारदुर्गमतितरति ॥ ५३ ॥

इति राघवविरचिताऽर्या पंचाशतिका स्तोत्रं समाप्तं ॥
श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवार्पणमस्तु ॥"

(11) कृष्णविलास (प्रथम सर्ग) —folios 8 (8½" × 5½") verses 56.

Begins:— "श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मिवासुदेवाभ्यां नमः ॥
श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥

एको यस्य रदोहि मातृयुगुलं नेत्रत्रयं बाहव-
श्चत्वारो जनकश्च पंचवदनो षट्कंधरः सोदरः ।
गंधः सप्तछदेन तुल्यइभकं चाष्टोरगालं कृतं
विघ्नध्वांतनिरासतिग्मकिरणं वंदे तमिंदुप्रभं ॥ १ ॥"

Ends:—

"संमुग्धव्रजकामिनीजनमनस्तोषप्रदोषस्य वै
शक्रार्यैर्मुकुटेंद्रनीलमणिभिः संस्पर्शितं श्रीहरेः ।
स्वर्गंगामकरंदतारितजगत् लक्ष्म्यालसत्कंकणं
हस्ताब्जेन सुशोभितं पदयुगं तन्नौमि कल्याणदं ॥ ५६ ॥

इति श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवपादारविंदमकरंदास्वादनपरभानसेन खांडेकरोपनामकेन आपाजीपंतात्मज राघवेण विरचिते कृष्णविलासाख्ये काव्ये प्रथमः सर्गः ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥"

(12) कृष्णविलास (तृतीय सर्ग) folio 6 (8" × 4¾")

Begins:— "श्रीगणराजे नमः ॥ श्रीधराधरेंद्रनंदिनीशाय नमः ॥

राधामुग्धमुखारविंदमधुलिट् नेत्रश्च वेणुं क्वणन्-
सर्वानेत्र भवांगरागललितो भर्मांगदीकं जद्दक् ।
विद्युच्चेत्र कटिश्च नंदकगलो वक्रालकावेष्टित-
प्रोत्फुल्लोत्पलकांति मोषवदनः श्रीकृष्णचंद्रोवतु ॥ १ ॥"

Ends:—

" वंशोच्चारितगूढ पंचमपदे दत्तावधानांगनां
नेत्रैर्नेव च लक्षिता मधुरिपो राधाप्रफुल्लानने ।
तिर्यक्लोलसुमौलिचंचललसत्स्वन्नात्रतंसस्पर्वे
मुग्धं कंदलिताः शुभं दधतु नः साकूतनेत्रांचलाः ॥ ४३ ॥

इति श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवपादारविंदमकरंदास्वादनपरमानसेन खांडेकरोपनामकेन आपाजीपंतात्मजराघवेण विरचिते कृष्णविलासाख्ये काव्ये तृतीयः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥ "

(13) **कृष्णविलास (चतुर्थ सर्ग)** folios 7 (8″ × 3¾″) verses 45.

Begins:— " श्रीविघ्नहर्त्रे नमः । श्रीमाधवोमाधवेभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीनृहरी प्रसन्न ॥

भक्तानामनुरंजनेन जनयन्तोषं सुफुल्लोत्पल-
श्रेणीकोमलमांसलैरवयवैरुत्पादयन्नुत्सवं ।
पंचेषो व्रजकामिनीभिरभितः प्रत्यंगमालिंगितः
क्रीडन्यातु स मूर्तिमानिव रसो राशे रमानायकः ॥ १ ॥"

Ends:—

" यत्पद्मीनकतातमस्तकजला पद्मोद्भव क्षेत्रजा
वृंदामासुखयोषितः सुरतराः पुष्पैर्हि संपूजितुं ।
इच्छंति प्रकृतेः परस्य पदकं गोप्यो निजस्वांतज-
शांत्यै तत्स्तनकोरकेषु निदधुः कृष्णस्य चित्रं महत् ॥ ४५ ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवपादारविंदमकरंदास्वादनपरमानसेन खांडेकरोपनामकेन आपाजीपंतात्मजराघवेण विरचिते कृष्णविलासाख्ये काव्ये चतुर्थः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥ श्रीउमामहेश्वरार्पणमस्तु ॥"

(14) **माधवगीतसुधा**—folios 29 (9¼″ × 5″)

(1) प्रथम सर्ग—*verses 48*

Colophon on *folio 6*—"श्रीमाधवगीतसुधायां सामोदवामोदरो नाम प्रथमः सर्गः "

(2) द्वितीय सर्ग—*verses 23*

Colophon on *folio 8*—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां द्वितीयः सर्गः "

(3) तृतीय सर्ग—*verses 14*

Colophon on *folio 10*—" इति श्रीमाधवगीतसुधायां मुग्धमधुसूदनो नाम तृतीयः सर्गः "

(4) चतुर्थ सर्ग—*verses 21*

Colophon on *folio 12*—" श्री माधवसुधायां स्निग्धमाधवो-मा(म) चतुर्थः सर्गः "

(5) पंचम सर्ग—*verses 21*

Colophon on *folio 14*—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां साकांक्षपुंडरीको नाम पंचमः सर्गः "

(6) षष्ठ सर्ग—*verses 9*

Colophon on *folio 15*—" श्रीमाधवसुधाय। सोत्कंठवैकुंठो नाम षष्ठः सर्गः "

(7) सप्तम सर्ग—*verses 34*

Colophon on *folio 18*—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां नागरनारायणो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः "

(8) अष्टम सर्ग—*verses 12*

Colophon on *folio 20*—" श्रीमाधवगीतसुधायां बिलक्षलक्ष्मी-पतिर्नामाष्टमः सर्गः "

(9) नवम सर्ग—*verse 8*

Colophon on *folio 21*—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां मुग्धमधुसूदनो नाम नवमः सर्गः "

(10) दशम सर्ग—*verses 17*

Colophon on *folio 22*—" श्रीमाधवगीतसुधायां मानिनी-वर्णनं नाम दशमः सर्गः "

(11) एकादश सर्ग—*verses 13*

Colophon on *folio 25*—" श्रीमाधवसुधायां सानंदगोविंदो नामैकादश सर्गः "

(12) द्वादश सर्ग—*verses 30*

This poem in 12 cantos contains in all 250 verses.

The Ms Begins :—

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीमहालक्ष्म्यै नमः ॥ श्रीवासुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीपल्लिनाथाय नमः ॥

मेघैर्मेदुरमंबरं वनभुवः श्यामास्तमालद्रुमैः
नक्तं भीरुरयं त्वमेव तदिमं राधे गृहं प्रापय ।
इत्थं नंदनिदेशतश्चलितयोः प्रत्यध्वकुंजद्रुमं
राधामाधवयोर्जयंति यमुनाकूले रहः केलयः ॥ "

This is the first verse of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda.* It is followed by three more verses. The poet then states his method and purpose in writing this Kāvya :—

" विघ्नेशं वागीशां श्रियं च तत्स्वामिनं शिवं व्यासं ।
पितरौ गुरून् कविवरान् क्षेत्राधिशान् जयार्थमभिवंदे ॥ ५ ॥
श्रीरमणचरणनलिनां मृतधारापानपूतहृद्रसनः ।
सोहं राघवनामाखिलरसमूर्तिं रसेन नौमि हरिं ॥ ६ ॥
गीतानां जयदेवोक्तानामार्यास्तदर्थरसललिताः ।
स्वरतालाज्ञार्याणां सुखायगीतिः करोमि हरितुष्ट्यै ॥ ७ ॥
गीतानुसारेण दशावताररूपिण श्रीकृष्णं राघवस्तौति ॥ "

The Ms ends :—

" हरिचरणामृतनिर्मितकलिकल्मषतापखंडने ललिते ।
खांडेकरोपनामकराघववचने कुरुष्व हृत्सदयं ॥ ३७ ॥
रचयकुचयोश्चित्रं पत्रं करेण कपोलयो-
र्घटय जघने काचिमंचयस्रजाकबरीभरं ।
रचय वलय श्रेणीं पाणौ पदे कुरु नूपुरा-
निति निगदितः प्रीतः पीतांबरोपि तथा करोत् ॥ ३८ ॥
पर्यंकीकृत नागनायकफणा श्रेणीमणीनां गणे
संक्रांतं प्रतिबिंबसंकननया बिभ्रद्वपुर्विक्रियां ।
पादांभोरुहधारिवारिधिसुतामक्ष्णां दिदृक्षुः शतैः
कायव्यूहमिवाचरन्नुपचिताकूतो हरिः पातु वः ॥ ३९ ॥
यद्गांधर्वकलासु कौशलमनुध्यानं च यद्वैष्णवं
यच्छृंगारविवेकतत्वरचना काव्येषु लीलायितं ।
तत्सर्वं जयदेवपंडितकवेः कृष्णैकतानात्मनः
स्वच्छंदं परिशोधयंतु सुधियः श्रीगीतगोविन्दतः ॥ ४० ॥

श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवपादारविंदमकरंदास्वादनपरमानसेन खांडेकरोपनामकेन आपाजीपंतात्मज राघवेण विरचिते माधवसुधायां द्वादशः सर्गः ॥ ६ ॥ ॐ श्री ॥ ६ ॥ "

(15) सुभाषित आर्या— folios 34, ($7\frac{1}{8}''$ × $4\frac{3}{4}''$) verses 330. Ms is incomplete.

Begins:—

" श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

यद्गंडभित्तिगालितप्रमदावनबद्धकंठकाः मधुपाः ।

उत्तंसस्थेंदुकलां पिबति वोसौ गणाधिपः पातु ॥ १ ॥"

Ends—

" केसरिपत्राचंडीशिखुंडुकगौसुतावहं वृषगः ।

भाळाग्निर्गंगाकोहिगलस्तस्माश्मशानवासीस्यां ॥ ३० ॥

On folios 10-11 our poet possibly refers to Peshwa Bajirao II of Poona in the following verse :—

" को यान प्रवराश्च साधुभिरपि स्वीयार्थसंसाधने

के पूज्याः प्रभुसंमितौ च नितरां के वर्जनीया जनैः ।

के मान्याः परमार्थसाधनपरैर्हेयाश्च काः केथवा

बाजीराजसभासदो बुधनरो भद्राः स्त्रियः कामुकाः ॥ १०१ ॥"

Our poet was a contemporary of Peshwa Bajirao II. He was a highly religious person and consequently entertained some contempt for the contemporarv Pandits at Bajirao's court as will be seen from the last two lines of the above stanza which state that spiritually inclined persons (परमार्थसाधनपरैः) should avoid (हेयाः) the court Pandits of Bajirāj (बाजीराजसभासदः) and amorous women (स्त्रियः कामुकाः).

(16) सुभाषित आर्या (in Marathi) folios 8 ($7\frac{3}{4}''$ × $4\frac{3}{4}''$)-verses (55 + 5)

Begins:— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

कमलसखा कुमुदारि सूर्यशशी यांस होतसे उलटा ।

सर्वांस इष्ट होईन या बुद्धिचा भरांतुनि उलटा ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends on folio 8:—

विषयी चिंती स्त्रीला स्वप्नी चिंती न रामचन्द्राला ।

तस्कर वांछी तिमिरा नेछी कुलटा विरामचंद्राला ॥ ५५ ॥

इति राघवकृत आर्या समाप्तं ॥ श्रीशुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीनृसिंहार्पणमस्तु ॥ "

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folio 8—ॐ ॥ श्री ।

उदरीं नैवेद्य मुखीं नाम हृदईं रूप मस्तकीं तुळशी ।
नियमें करिशी तरि हरि पार्षदमुख्यां समान तूं तुळसी ॥ १ ।

... ...

जेथ सभासद हृदईं सुकृतदयेचा असे न ओलावा ।
सुज्ञें तेथ न जावें गेला तरि शब्द ही न बोलावा ॥ ५ ॥

In the *āryā* 5 above the poet states that a wise man should not visit a royal court where the courtiers are absolutely devoid of the moisture of human kindness and in case he visits such a court he should not utter a single word. This general advice seems to contain a criticism of Bajirao's courtiers, who must have been apathetic to our poet. Rāghava, though learned, was highly religious and as such was not perhaps well received at the court of Bajirao II, who is referred to in the following *āryās* of this work :—

folio 2—" गणी टाकुनि आले पैका खाउनि बाजिरायाला ।
या कर्मांने देईल इश्वर तरि काय बाजरा यला ॥ १३ ॥
पापव्यसनी त्यांचा गुरुजि कसा पापपुंज सरवाल ।
बाधक तो साधूला जेंवि कुपथ्यांत अग्रसर वाल ॥
दुष्टाकडुन गुरुजी सदाचरण तरि कशा न करवाल ।
आम्रपरा नेणे तीक्ष्ण मलिन कठिन जेवि करवाल ॥ १५ ॥"

Perpaps these verses contain a criticism of a *guru* (गुरुजि) of Bajirao Peshwa. This *guruji* was not evidently virtuous as his पापपुंज or treasure of sins is referred to by our poet. Perhaps the following āryā on folio 7 contains a criticism of Bajirao's character :—

" अंध पति असतां मग मृगाक्षि शृंगार जातसे वायां ।
तैसा जड भूप नव्हे योग्य कुशल बुधजनास सेवायां ॥४७॥"

When the husband is totally blind the amours of a deer-eyed lady are in vain; in the same manner when the king is stupid or unintelligent, clever and wise persons should not serve him, as he is unfit for such purpose. Students of Maratha history may perpaps be able to throw some light on the relation of our poet to Bajirao's courtiers and the reason why he entertained no respect for them

(17) सुभाषित आर्याः— folios 40 (7″ × 4¾″) verses 381.

Begins:— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ ॥ श्री ॥

यद्वंहमित्तिमलितप्रमदाद्मबद्ध कंठका मधुपाः ।
उत्तंसरथेंदुकलां पिबंति यो सौ गणाधिपः पातु ॥ १ ॥"

Ends— on folio 40ᵃ

" आरोहति चरणहता जडापि धूलिः सखे यथा शिरासि ।
किं न भवति मनुजानामतिक्रमादिह परत्र फलमेवं ॥ ८१ ॥"

This anthology is identical with that described above under No. 15 but contains some additional verses. The verse (No. 101) containing a reference to बाजीराज समासद: appears as No. 97 in this Ms and reads as follows :—

folio 11 — " को या न प्रवरश्च साधुभिरपि स्वीयार्थ संसाधने ।
के पूज्याः प्रभुसंमितौ च नितरां के वर्जनीया जनैः ।
के मान्याः परमार्थसाधनपरैर्हेयाश्च का केथवा ।
बाजीराजसभासदो बुधनराभट्टाः स्त्रियः कामुकाः ॥ ९७ ॥"

Occasionally some *non-Sanskrit* verses are inserted by the poet in this anthology. The following specimen I am unable to understand :—

folio 14—"तिर्वाट्तुनापोरयाबरपणयाले शिकाडज सुदाइ ।
ह्यां पोरिसंनें रगडसचारा ह्लावया लेकालथिन गाइ ॥ १७ ॥"

(18) योगराज — folios 6 (8″ × 5″) verses 63.

Begins:— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवाभ्यां नमः ॥
यद्भासा भात्यदो विश्वं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिरेव सत् ।
केवलं तु स्वयं ज्योति यैः पश्यति नमामि तं ॥ १ ॥"

Ends:—"दानभजनयज्ञतपोपुराणनिगमार्चनात्मयोगजपाः ।
ईशप्रीत्यै च कृताः सर्वेस्युर्मुक्तिसाधकानियमात् ॥
अनुभूय परं तत्त्वं राघवकाविना कृता इमाह्यार्याः ।
भूयात्तत्वानुभवो भक्त्याऽभ्यसतां हि योगराजसमुं ॥ ६३ ॥"

It appears from a perusal of this work that our poet had become thoroughly Vedāntic in his spiritual views, when he composed the work.

(19) रोगावलिजातक— folios 11 (6¾" × 4¼") verses are not numbered.

Begins:— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥

ॐ श्रीलक्ष्मीवासुदेवाभ्यां नमः ॥

अथ जातकाभिप्रायेण रोगोत्पत्तिः ॥ अथ ज्वरे ॥

निचास्थितस्याब्जपतेर्दशा तु
शिरोरुजं नेत्रगदं प्रकृष्टं ।
कुष्टं ज्वरं बंधनमेव कुर्यात्
क्षीणस्य चंद्रस्य दशापि तद्वत् ॥ "

Ends:— " अथ विषदोषे ॥

षष्टाष्टमे यथा चंद्रो बुधयुक्तश्च तिष्ठति ।
विषदोषेण बालस्य तदा मृत्युश्च जायते ॥ १ ॥
इति रोगावलिजातकं समाप्तं ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ "

The name of the author is not found in the Ms of the work described above.

(20) वासुदेवाष्टक— 9 verses copied from the original Ms by Vaidya S. A. Khandekar.

Begins— " ॐ श्रीवासुदेवाष्टकं ॥ श्रीं ॥

ध्वजपविकमलांकुशादि चिन्हैः
सुललितमुच्चनखं हरेः पदाब्जम् ।
सकृदपि हृदि चिंतितं तु येन
न स भवती न सुतक्षयं प्रगंता ॥ १ ॥ "

Ends:—

" वासुदेवाष्टकं रम्यं राघवेण विरच्य वै ।
आर्पितं तत्पदे तेन प्रीयतां कमलापतिः ॥ ९ ॥ "

Besides the above Mss of Rāghava's works made available to me by Vaidya S. A. Khandekar he showed me a sheet of paper

(18″ × 6″) containing the आधानकुंडली[1] of राघोपंत खांडेकर who is identical with राघवकवि खांडेकर. The details of the date pertaining to the आधानसमय recorded in this document give us *Friday, 14th April 1758* as the time of conception (or आधान). Rāghava Kavi must have been born in *December 1758* or so if the आधान कुंडली referred to above is correct. At any rate his birth date is not much removed from A. D. 1758. I shall now record below the chronology of his works and their copies :—

A. D.	Śaka	Particulars R = Rāghava Āpā Khāndekar
1758	1680	Birth of *R.*
1800	1722	*R* about 42 years old.
1803	1725	A Ms[2] of नीलकंठी ज्योतिषप्रकरणम् copied at चिकणग्राम and belonged to *R.*
1804	1726	A Ms[3] of नीलकंठी फलश्रुतिप्रकरण copied by *R.*
1810	1732	*R* composed खेटकृति—*Ujjain* Mss of A. D. 1837; *BBRAS* Ms of A. D. *1816.*
1817	1739	*R* composed पंचांगार्क; Ms of कृष्णार्याशतक by *R.*
1818	1740	*R* completed his पद्धतिचंद्रिका at *Puṇtāmbe.*
1820	1742	Ms of वासुदेवार्याशतक by *R.*
1821	1743	Ms of शतश्लोकी by *R.*
1823	1745	Ms of महालक्ष्मी स्तोत्र by *R* belonging to बाळकृष्ण वासुदेव खांडेकर.
1823	1745	Ms of देव्यार्यापंचाशती by *R.*

1 This कुंडली reads as follows :—" श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥ ....अथ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नृपशालिवाहन शके १६८० बहुधान्यनामसंवत्सरे उदगयने वसंतर्तौ चैत्रे मासि शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ ७ शुक्रे घटी ५२ प. १४ आर्द्रा नक्षत्र घटी ६ प. १३ सुकर्मा योगः घटयः ५० पलानि १२ तात्कालिकं गरकरणं एवं पंचागशुद्धौ श्रीसूर्योदयाद्गत घटी १५ पलानि ३८ तत्समये कर्कलग्ने कन्यांशे वर्तमाने राजश्रियाविराजमानराजश्री राघोपंत खांडेकर तेषां आधानसमयः ॥ etc. ॥"

2 Vide pp. 26-27, *Des. Cata. of Gorhe Collection* by Dr. R. G. Harshe (Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1942) — *Ms No. 78.*

3 Ibid. *Ms No. 79.*

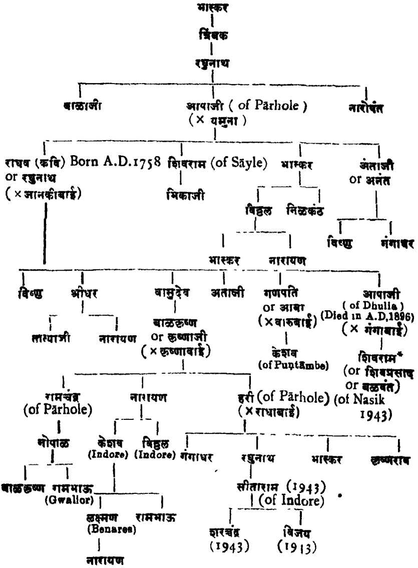
If A. D. *1758* is the date of Rāghava's birth he must have been about 60 years old when he composed in A. D. *1818* his पद्धतिचंद्रिका at *Puntāmbe* in the Ahmadnagar District. Presuming, therefore, that he lived about 20 years more we get about A. D. *1838* or *1840* as the later limit to his life-period.

Vaidya Śivarāmpant Khāndekar tells me that he is the grand-son of Rāghava Āpā Khāṇḍekar born in A. D. 1758 and that he himself was born in A. D. 1884. This statement results in greater longevity for both the father and the grand-father of Śivarāmpant than what we generally assign to each individual. We have to accommodate between A. D. 1758 and 1942 (a span of 184 years) three individuals, one of which is now 58 years old.

APPENDIX

Genealogy of Rāghava Kavi Khāṇḍekar

(Between 1758 and 1943 A. D.)



* I am thankful to Vaidya S. A. Khandekar for giving me the above Genealogy of Rāghava Kavi Khāṇḍekar for publication.

—P. K. Gode.

Family Deity—" श्रीमहाकालीमहालक्ष्मीमहासरस्वतीपार्श्वनाथप्रमुखपंचायतनकुल-देवताभ्यो नमोनमः "

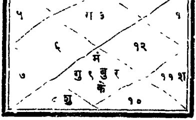
Native Place— Originally this Khandekar family belonged to *Sāyale* in the Sangameshwar Taluka of the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. Then some of its members migrated to *Pārhole* (Dist. Khandesh) and *Puntāmbe* (Dist. Ahmadnagar)

Gotra etc. — " ऋग्वेदांतर्गतअश्वलायनसूत्रशाकलशाखाध्यायीगार्ग्यगोत्रोपन्नस्य खांडेकर इत्युपाह्वयस्य "

Birth date of Rāghava Kavi :—Sunday, *17th December 1758.*

Horoscope (जन्मलग्नकुंडली) :— " श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्री शके १६८० बहुधान्य नाम संवत्सरे मार्गशीर्ष व. ३ रविवासरे etc. "

This horoscope is in the hand-writing of Rāghava Kavi himself.



DEVAYĀNA AND PITṚYĀNA

BY

H. G. NARAHARI

What has been commonly accepted as the chief text[1] of the doctrine of Transmigration admits of two natural divisions,[2] the one part dealing with the 'five fires' and the other with the 'two ways'; while according to the former theory, *śraddhā* seems to be primarily responsible for the Soul's return to earth, it is this alone that, according to the latter, leads to *Brahman* without return; the former theory appears to assume the absence of any recompense in the other world for, according to it, the Soul, after having journeyed to Heaven, returns almost immediately, to a new existence through the five transitory stations—heaven, atmosphere, earth, father and mother; but, to the latter, while those traversing through the northern path of the Sun reach *Brahman*, not to return to earth again, those that go through the southern path go to the Moon, stay there till their deeds permit and return to earth by the very way through which they went up.

The 'doctrine of the two ways' which is essentially based on the conception that, at death, it is only the body that is destroyed and that the Soul continues its existence to reap the consequence of its deeds, speaks of two ways,[3] the way of the gods

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[1] *Ch. Up*, V. 10. 5 ff.; the same occurs in the *Bṛ. Up.* (VI. 2. 6 ff.) with minor variations and in a somewhat briefer form.

[2] Deussen (*Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 333) makes a chronological distinction between these two parts, and would call that teaching the doctrine of the 'five fires' as the earlier portion, and the other as the later. The *Nirukta* (XIII. 19 ff.) makes a curious jumble of these two parts in the course of its account of the doctrine of Transmigration.

[3] cp. *Bhagavadgītā*, VIII, 24 ff, where distinction is made between those that die in the *uttarāyaṇa* (northward course of the Sun) and those that die during *dakṣiṇāyana* (southward course of the Sun). The story in the *Mahābhārata* (XI. 119 96 ff.) that *Bhīṣma* waited till *uttarāyaṇa* to breathe his last is based on the same conviction.

(*Devayāna*) and the way of the fathers (*Pitṛyāna*); those who know the doctrine of the five fires (*pañcāgnividyā*) or who meditate with faith upon *Satya* are the people who are privileged to travel by the former path which leads them to the gods or to the Absolute *Brahman* ; when, at death, their body is burnt on the pyre, the Soul enters the flame, then the day, the bright-half of the month, the six months when the Sun moves northward, the year,[1] the Sun, the Moon, the lightning, and finally, led by a superhuman person (*amānavah puruṣaḥ*), *Brahman*, never more to return to earth ; but those whose merit consists only in the performance of philanthropic acts like sacrifice (*yajña*), bounty, (*dāna*), and penance (*tapas*) have to travel, at death, by the other path ; their Soul first enters the smoke of the pyre, then the night, the dark-half of the month, the six months when the Sun moves southward, the world of the Fathers (*pitrloka*) in lieu of the year, the ether and finally the Moon which is the final destination for these Souls and not a mere stage of transit as in the previous case. Here the departed Souls remain for a time enjoying the rewards of their good deeds in company with the *pitṛs*. This enjoyment lasts only as long as the store of Karma permits, and after that is exhausted they return to earth by the very path through which they went up. After regaining the state of smoke, they get the form of mist, then cloud, rain, plants and food. The remaining stages which finally bring about the rebirth are very difficult, for this can happen only when they are eaten as food and emitted as seed into the womb, and the quality of their birth also depends on the nature of their conduct in their previous existence ; those of good conduct are reborn as a brahman, or a kṣatriya or a vaiśya as the degree of the virtue allows, and those of stinking conduct are reborn as a dog, or a hog, or as an outcast (*caṇḍāla*). [2]

[1] According to the *Bṛ. Up.* (VI. 2. 15), after the soul passes through the six months during the northward course of the Sun, it enters the world of the gods (*devaloka*), then the Sun and the lightning fire. A person consisting of mind (*mānasaḥ*) enters these regions of lightning, and conducts the Soul to the world of *Brahma* where it stays forever.

[2] *Ch. Up.*, V. 10. 7 ; the *Bṛ. Up.* omits to make this distinction among

(*continued on the next page*)

We will now see how much of this Upaniṣadic doctrine of the 'two ways' was familiar to the Ṛgvedic Aryans. The word *Devayāna* occurs *thirteen* times in all in the different cases. *Sāyaṇa* understands the word in *two* broad senses; either it means the sacrificial offering which is intended for the gods[1] or which leads the devotee to the gods;[2] or the path which leads to the gods,[3] or by which men travel to meet the gods,[4] or by which the gods travel to secure the offerings of their worshippers.[5] *Grassmann* understands the word only in *two* senses. His meanings[6] run thus: (1) *Zu den Göttern seinen Gang nehmend* (affording the journey to the gods); (2) *den Göttern zum Gange dienend* (serving the gods in their journey). But Roth and Bohtlingk understand the word exactly in the same way as

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(*continued from the previous page*)

the Souls returning from the Moon. The *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* (I. 2 ff.) seems to reconcile the two Upaniṣads when it makes all Souls go first, without exception, to the Moon. There the Souls are judged and, according to the result, they go either by the *Devayāna* which leads to *Brahman* without return, or take up a new birth 'of a worm, or a fly, or a fish, or a bird, or a line, or a boar, or a serpent, or a tiger, or a man, or something else; cf. *Socrates* who remarks in the *Phaedo* that those who on earth have followed after gluttony and wantonness and drunkenness, without the least thought of avoiding them, would pass after death into asses and animals of that sort, and those following injustice, tyranny and violence into wolves, hawks or kites, while those practising virtues like temperance and justice pass into some gentle and social kind like their own, such as bees or wasps or ants, or back again into the form of man (Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, II. 225 ff.).

1 I. 162. 4.

2 X. 181. 3.

3 VII. 76. 2.

4 VII. 38. 8; X. 51. 2 & 5; 98 11.

5 I. 72. 7; 183. 6; 184. 6; IV. 37. 1. V. 43. 6; X. 18. 1.

6 *Würterbuch zum Ṛgveda*, p. 635, the following explanatory note is added at the end of the second of these meanings: *von den wegen auf denen sie vom Himmel herabkommen und zu ihm hinaufsteigen, und die daher auch der einzuschlagen hat, der zu ihnen hinauf will.* According to this note, the second meaning is given about the paths by which they (gods) come down from Heaven and go up to it, and which, therefore, he too who desires to go up to it (Heaven) has to tread.

Sāyaṇa when they interpret[1] the word to mean (1) *Zu den Göttern gehend, strebend*; (2) *Göttern zum Wandel, Verkehr, Aufenthalt dienend*; so *heissen namentlich die pfade, auf welchen die himmlischen herniederstoeigen, opfer zu ihnen gelangen, überhaupt der Verkehr zwischen Himmel und Erde geht*: (3) *der zu den Göttern führende Weg.*

The word *Pitṛyāna* occurs but *once* in the Rv.; the following verse (X. 2. 7) gives the context ;

> Yaṁ tvā dyāvāprthivī yam tvāpas tvastā yaṁ tvā sujanimā jajāna ।
>
> Panthām anu pravidvān pitṛyānam dyumad agne samidhāno vi bhāhi ॥

In this verse, Agni who has been engendered by Heaven and Earth, by the Waters, by Tvastr, by the glorious Creator, and who is cognisant of the path, the road of the *pitrs*, is requested to shine brilliantly on being kindled. *Sāyana* translates the word *pitṛyāna* which occurs in the third quarter of this verse to mean 'the path by which the Fathers travel'. *Grassmann* follows *Sāyaṇa* when he also interprets[2] the word to mean 'the path by means of which the spirits of ancestors move' (*von den Geistern der Ahnen betreten*). So do Roth and Bohtlingk when they take[3] the word in the sense of 'that by which the manes travel' (*von den Manen betreten*).

Keith seems to base his conclusion entirely on the evidence of the *three* meanings of *Devayāna* mentioned above when he remarks[4] that "the *Devayāna*, originally in the Ṛgveda the path by which the sacrifice of a man was borne to the gods or by which they came for it, and by which on death he joined the Fathers and the gods in Heaven, is transformed into the path by which the Soul goes to the gods or to the Absolute". But there are evidences in the Ṛgveda itself to show that the seers knew something more about the "two paths" than they are usually considered to know. The *Devayāna* is described as *lustrous* in the following verses :

1 *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, III. 753.

2 *op. cit.*, p. 815.

3 *op. cit.*, IV. 719 ; cf. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 171.

4 *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 575.

Pra me panthā devayānā adṛśrann amardhanto vasubhir iṣkṛtāsaḥ ।
Abhūd u ketur uṣasaḥ purastāt pratīcy agād adhi harmyēbhyaḥ ॥ [1]

Ko mā dadarśa katamah sa devo yo me tanvo bahudhā paryapaśyat ।
Kvāha mitrāvaruṇā kṣiyanty agner viśvāh samidho devayānīḥ ॥ [2]

Ehi manur devayur yajñākāmo 'ramkṛtyā tamasi kṣeṣy agne ।
Sugān pathah kṛnuhi devayānān vaha havyāni sumanasyamānaḥ ॥ [3]

In the first-half of the first verse, the seer says that he has beheld the paths leading to the gods (*devayāna*), innocuous and glorious with light (*vasubhir iṣkṛtāsah*). In the second-half of the second verse, Agni is made to ask Mitra and Varuna if there exist any people who have seen his manifold forms which serve as the luminous vehicle of the gods (*samidhah devayānīḥ*). In the second and third quarters of the last verse, the fully lustrous Agni is requested to make straight the paths traversed by the gods (*araṁkṛtyā tamasi kṣesy agne sugān pathaḥ kṛṇuhi devayānān*), thereby suggesting that he should illumine those paths which on account of their darkness are otherwise hard to cross.

These passages clearly point out that the Ṛgvedic seers were fully conversant with the idea that the *Devayāna* is '*lustrous*'. In the Upaniṣads we find, as noticed already,[4] that the 'brightness' of this path is specially emphasized in contrast with the other which is always associated with darkness. When, therefore, we see that the Ṛgvedic seers are already aware of this conception, the conclusion is obvious that this idea is not the creation of the Upanisadic period but was adopted from earlier times.

1 VII. 76. 2.

2 X. 51. 2.

3 X. 51. 5.

4 *Supra*, pp. 45 ff.

That these seers are familiar also with the Upaniṣadic idea that the *Devayāna* is the *path of the immortals*, and that one who would attain to the world of gods or to immortality must pass through Agni, becomes clear on examination of the following passages from the Ṛv. :

Param mrtyo anu parehi panthām yas te sva itaro devayānāt ।
Cakṣuṣmate śrṇvate te bravīmi mā naḥ prajām rīriṣo mota vīrān ॥ [1]

Etāny agne navatim sahasrā sam pra yaccha vṛṣṇa Indrāya bhāgam ।
Vidvān pathā ṛtuśo devayānān apy aulānam divi deveṣu dhehi ॥ [2]

Vidvān agne vayunāni kṣitīnām vyānuṣak śurudho jīvase dhāḥ ।
Antarvidvān adhvano devayānān atandro dūto abhavo havirvāt ॥ [3]

In the first verse[4], Death is asked to depart differently through a path which is its own (*yah te svah*) and distinct from the path of the gods (*itaro devayānāt*). We see here already the Upanisadic idea that mortality has nothing to do with the *Devayāna* and that to traverse by it is to attain to immortality. In the second verse, Agni is credited with the knowledge of the path of the Gods and is requested to place *Aulāna* in Heaven among the gods. This is a clear anticipation of the Upanisadic conception that the Soul whose merit allows it to pass through *Devayāna*, first enters the flame of the pyre (*agni*) on its way to the world of *Brahman*. *Aulāna* (Śantanu) may be construed as the typical human being in Ṛgvedic India whose merit entitled him to

1 X. 18. 1.

2 X. 98. 11.

3 I, 72. 7.

4 According to R. D. Ranade (*Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*, p. 159 n.), the *Devayāna* which is mentioned in this verse has the same sense as in the Upanisads, and the path which is described here as 'different from' that of the gods must be only the way of the Fathers i. e. *Pitṛyāna.*; cp. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

share Heaven, the world of the Gods, and who could be enabled to achieve his reward only through the agency of Agni i. e. after his body was cremated at death on the funeral pyre. The third quarter of the last verse is taken by *Sayāna* to mean that Agni is conversant with the path of the gods (*devayāna*) which lies between Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāpṛthivyor madhye jānan adhvanaḥ mārgaṁ ... devayānān devā yair mārgair gacchanti tān jānann ityarthah*). If *Sāyaṇa's* interpretation here is acceptable,[1] this verse can be taken as an additional evidence to show that the Ṛgvedic seers knew, long before the Upanisadic age, that the *Devayāna* leads to the world of the Gods i. e. Heaven.

There remain now for consideration those words in the Rv. which are frequently employed in that *Saṁhitā* to denote 'a path' or 'a way'. *Six* words answer to this description, but only *three* deserve notice at present.[2]

The word *Gātu* occurs over 60 times in all in the Rv. in the different case-forms, 48 times independently and 19 times as part of a compound. *Sāyana* understands[3] it in a number of senses such as 'one who moves', or 'movement', or 'a place which

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[1] *Griffith* understands the word *antarvidvān* to mean 'deeply skilled' unlike Sāyaṇa to whom it means 'knowing as existing between (Heaven and Earth)'. Grassmann (*Der Ṛgveda*, II. 74) supports the former when he takes the word to mean *kundig* (skilled) and translates the whole quarter thus: '*Der Wege kundig, die die Götter wandern*'. Though Sāyaṇa's explanation here seems to be pedantic, he is supported by Rv. X. 88. 15 which expressly declares that the paths of the gods and fathers lie between Heaven and Earth.

[2] The *three* words omitted here from consideration are *patha*, *pada* and *vayuna*; the first occurs over 150 times in the different cases, and is mostly taken by Sāyaṇa in the sense of *mārga* (road or way) and sometimes in the figurative sense of 'an expedient', but Grassmann (*Wörterbuch Zum Ṛgveda*, p. 767) and Roth and Bohtlingk (*Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, IV. 420) understand the word always in the sense of *Pfade* (path) or *Weg* (way); the second similarly occurs nearly 100 times in the various cases, and generally means 'to go' (*gehen*), 'to stride' or 'stalk' (*schreiten*), or 'to tread' (*treten*); the third occurs 34 times in all and is understood in various senses; in *three* verses at least (II. 34. 4; VI. 7. 5; VIII. 66. 8) the word means 'a path'. But all these occurrences of these three words are of little significance in the present context.

[3] op. Roth and Bohtlingk, *op. cit.*, II. 729. ff., Grassmann, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

deserves approach' (*gantavyam*), or 'path or way' (*mārga*), or 'house' (*gṛha*), or 'happiness' (*sukha*), or 'earth' (*bhūmi*), or 'sacrificial place' (*yajñamārga*), or an 'expedient' (*upāya*), or 'attainment of the fruit' (*phalaprāpti*), or 'to sing or to pray' (*stotum*), or 'that which is fit to be sung or known' (*stotavyam jñātavyam vā*). In the sense of a 'path or way' (*Gang, bahn*), the word occurs 17 times[1] and of these occurrences the following *two* verses deserve attention:

> Yamo no gātum prathamo viveda naiṣā gavyūtir
> apabhartavā u ı
> Yatrā nah pūrve pitarah pareyur enā jajñānāh pathyā
> auu svāḥ[2] ıı
> Vīḷu cid drlhā pitaro na ukthair adrim rjann aṅgiraso
> ravena ı
> Cakrur divo brhato gātum asme ahah svar vividuh
> ketum usrāh[3] ıı

In the first verse, Yama is described as the first to find out a way which is not to be taken away. To this place ancestors of old have repaired, and to it alone go those born since then, each one along his own way; in the second verse, *Aṅgirases*, the ancestors, are described as having found out the way to Heaven. The value of these two passages consists in the definite allusion they make to a path which is exclusively used by the ancestors (*pitarah*) on their way to Heaven which is no more than the place where all the dead meet again after death,[4] in contrast with the *Devayāna* which is used by the gods for their transit, when they go to their devotees to receive worship and offerings (and by which men who go to the gods travel). Nor was this path of the ancestors discovered by any god for the help of the mortals. *Yama* or *Aṅgiras* who is considered to be the discoverer of this path is no more than the primeval ancestor of the Ṛgvedic seers. In her dialogue with Yama, Yamī calls him

[1] I. 71. 2, II. 20. 5., 21. 5; III 4 4, 31. 9 IV. 55. 4, VI. 30. 3, VII 47 4; 63. 5; IX. 85 4, 96. 10. 15; 97. 18, X 14. 2, 49 9, 61 25; 99. 8.

[2] X. 14. 2.

[3] I. 71. 2.

[4] Yama, son of Vivasvat, is thus called 'the assembler of people' (*saṁgamanam janānām*), for all the dead go to him (X 14 1).

'the only mortal' (X. 10. 3). In another place (X. 13. 4), Yama is said to have chosen death and abandoned his body. He passed to the other world, finding out the path for many,[1] to where the ancient fathers passed away (X. 14. 1, 2). As first and oldest of the dead, Yama could easily be regarded as the chief of the dead that followed him. Hence is it perhaps that he is frequently[2] denominated 'king'. Yama is sometimes enumerated along with gods like Agni,[3] but the fact remains, that in the entire Ṛgveda, Yama is nowhere expressly called a god.

The character of *Aṅgirases* as 'ancestors' of the Ṛgvedic seers is still more clearly emphasized. A single Aṅgiras being regarded as their ancestor, they are also termed 'sons of Aṅgiras' (X. 62. 5). They are frequently spoken of as 'fathers' (*pitaraḥ*),[4] 'our fathers' (*pitaro naḥ*),[5] or 'our ancient fathers' (*naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ*).[6] They are once (X. 14. 6) mentioned as 'fathers' with the *Bhṛgus* and the *Atharvans*, being especially associated with Yama (X. 14. 3 ff.). They are said to have thought out the first ordinance of sacrifice (X. 67. 2), and as a result of this merit are spoken of as having obtained immortality as well as the friendship of Indra. It is, therefore, clear that *Yama* and *Aṅgirases* are no more than the ancestors of the Ṛgvedic seers[7]. When, therefore, we are told that they found as a path which leads to a place (i.e. the world of Yama) where these

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[1] The Av. (XVIII. 3. 13) is more explicit when it says that *Yama* is the first mortal to die

[2] X. 14 2, 4, 7; 16. 9, IX. 113. 8.

[3] X. 64 3; 92. 11.; *Agni*, *Yama* and *Mātariśvan* are once (I. 164. 46) mentioned together as the names of the *One Being*.

[4] X. 62. 2, 14. 4.

[5] I. 71. 2; X. 14. 6.

[6] I. 62. 2.

[7] This is further proved by the fact that *Yama* and *Aṅgirases* are also taken into account in enumerating the 'ancestors' who strengthened the gods by sacrifices, who derived strength by their aid, and, of whom, some rejoice in the call *svāhā* and others in *svadhā*, the call by which the Manes are usually invoked (X. 14. 3); cf. the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* on *Pāṇini*, II. 3. 16: *namas svasti svāhā svadhā laṁvaṣaḍyogāc ca*, which by its illustrations, *agnaye svāhā*, *pitṛbhyas svadhā*, points out that while the gods are to

(*continued on the next page*)

two, in company with their virtuous descendants, enjoy an eternal bout (X. 135. 1), we are not far from the Upanisadic conception that the sacrificers and philanthropists who travel, at death, by the *pitryāna* attain the Moon and enjoy there. The momentariness of this enjoyment must have been emphasized in the Upaniṣads solely with the purpose of pointing out the inferiority of this bliss as compared with that of those who attain *Brahman* and become immortal. This idea is also not unfamiliar to the Ṛgveda which speaks of the *Ṛbhus* as having attained ' divinity ' owing to their special merit (IV. 35. 8), and of the *Aṅgirases* as having attained immortality for a similar reason (X. 67. 2), while Heaven is the reward for all those who practise rigorous penance (*tapas*), for heroes who risk their lives in battle (X. 154. 2 ff.), and above all for those who bestow liberal sacrificial gifts.[1] If in the Upanisadic age, one who would attain immortality was required to be well-versed in the *pañcāgnividyā* or to meditate with faith upon *Satya*, this could be achieved in the Ṛgvedic age by people who did wondrous but beneficent deeds. The Ṛbhus, sons of *Sudhanvan* and grand-sons of a man, are thus said to have obtained their *divinity* by enlivening a dead cow (IV, 33 4), by making the ladle (*camasa*) four-fold (IV. 35. 3), and by making their aged parents young (I, 20, 4), and the *Aṅgirases* are said to have attained their ' immortality ' as a reward for having thought out the first ordinance of sacrifice. Similarly, if the Vedic Seer attained the privilege of enjoyment in the Heaven of *Yama* for his austerities, or bravery, or philanthropy, the Upanisadic Seer obtained the privilege of enjoyment in the *Pitrloka* (i. e. the Moon) for his sacrifices and philanthropy. The Ṛgvedic conception of Divinity or immortality and Heaven must have, therefore, greatly inspired the Upanisadic *Devayāna* and the *Pitryāna*

(*continued from the previous page*)

be addressed by *svāhā*, the manes are to be addressed by *svadhā*. For a full discussion of the relative meanings of these *two* words, as also for the establishment of the view that the distinction between the Gods and the Manes was clearly understood even by the Rgvedic seers, see Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *Svāhā*, *Svadhā*, and *Svasti* (*J. O. R. M.*, I. 16 ff.).

[1] X. 154. 3 ; I. 125. 5 ; X. 107. 2.

Rajas occurs nearly 150 times in the Ṛgveda and is understood in a number of senses; in the sense of a 'a path' (*mārga*), the word can be construed in *five* verses [1] at least, out of which the following *two* are important for consideration now:

Ā kṛṣṇena rajasā vartamāno niveśayann amṛtam martyaṁ ca ।
Hiraṇyayena savitā rathenā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan ॥ [2]
Hiraṇyapāṇiḥ savitā vicarsanir ubhe dyāvāpṛthivī antar īyate ।
Apāmīvāṁ bādhate veti sūryam abhi kṛṣṇena rajasā dyām ṛṇoti ॥ [3]

In the first verse, Savitṛ is described as moving through the dark path (*kṛṣṇena rajasā*) and, in the second, that he penetrates to Heaven through the dark space. *Sāyana* translates the word *rajasā* by 'region' (*lokena*) and *Grassmann* by 'aerial region' (*luftraum*), but even then the compound should mean something like 'path or course' i. e. a region through which the Sun traverses. Seeing that Savitṛ is a solar deity, it is quite possible that the seer calls his course 'dark' (*kṛṣṇa*) because it is beyond man's perception. This supposition is all the more strengthened if the frequent descriptions of the region of *Viṣṇu*, another solar deity in the Ṛgveda are also taken into consideration. *Viṣṇu* is described as living at a long distance from this world (*kṣayantam asya rajasaḥ parākē*), [4] and as he thus shows knowledge of the highest region, his greatness cannot be measured by anybody.[5] With his wide-going (*urugāya*) and wide-striding (*urukrama*) steps, Viṣṇu traverses throughout the terrestrial regions. Two of his steps are visible to men, but the third, or highest is beyond the flight of birds or mortal ken; [6] it is known only to the saviour full of mercy. His highest step is like an eye fixed in Heaven, and it shines brightly down;

[1] I. 35. 2, 9; 116. 20; II. 31. 2, VI. 62. 6.
[2] I. 35. 2.
[3] I. 35. 9.
[4] VII. 100. 5.
[5] VII. 99. 1.
[6] I. 155. 5; VII. 99. 2.

towards this the wise ever look (*tad visnoh paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ*).[1] Here in this dear abode of *Viṣṇu*, at this spring of sweetness, the pious rejoice:

Tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām naro yatra devayavo madanti ।
Urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā viṣṇoh pade parame madhva utsaḥ ॥[2]
Tā vām vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūriśṛngā ayāsaḥ ।
Ātrāha tad urugāyasya vrṣṇaḥ paramam padam ava bhāti bhūri ॥[3]

This Heaven of *Viṣṇu* by entering which the devotees are immortal, is also distinguished from the Heaven of *Yama* which is open to any virtuous man. Thus we are told·

Tisro dyāvaḥ savitur dvā upasthām ekā yamasya bhuvane virāsāṭ ।
Āṇim na rathyam amṛtādhi tasthur iha bravītu ya u tac ciketat ॥[4]

The fact that Savitṛ is associated with *immortality* is clear from the description that he granted immortality to the gods;[5] and the following verse where the seer wants to go by the path of the Sun and attain the place where his span of life (*āyus*)[6] can be extended i. e. where he can be immortal, expresses clearly that the Sun also is connected with *immortality*:

Ud īrdhvam jīvo asur na āgād apa prāgāt tama ā jyotir eti ।
Āraik panthām yātave sūryāya aganma yatra pratiranta āyuḥ ॥[7]

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1 I. 22. 20.

2 I. 154. 5.

3 I. 154. 6.

4 I. 35. 6.

5 IV. 54. 2.

6 Sāyaṇa's rendering of the word *Āyus* into 'food' (*anna*) is rather fantastic.

7 I. 113. 16.

It is thus clear that the Ṛgvedic seers knew of *two* kinds of virtuous people those who by good conduct attain felicity in *Yama's* Heaven and those who, by superior merit like piety, attain the Heaven of the *Solar* Gods, *Viṣṇu, Savitṛ*, or *Sūrya*, and become immortal.

Sruti occurs 8 times in all in the different cases; while both Sāyana and Grassmann[1] generally interpret the word to mean 'a path or way' (*mārga=bahn, weg*), it is taken by them only once (II 13 2) in the sense of 'a stream or current' (*apāṁ saraṇih = strom, stromung*). *Roth* and *Bohtlingk*[2] understand the word throughout in the former sense of 'a way' (weg or 'road or street' (*strasse*). Of the *seven* passages[3] in which the word *sruti* occurs in this sense, the following verse is significant.

> Dve srutī aśrnavam pitṝnām aham devānām uta
> martyānām ।
> Tābhyām idam viśvam ejat sam eti yad antarā
> pitaram mātarañ ca[4] ॥

The seer says in this verse that he has heard of two paths, one of the gods and the other of the mortals, and that through one or the other of these two every creature that exists between Heaven and Earth (i e. in this world) proceeds on its way. *Sāyaṇa* sees in this verse a clear mention of the *Devayāna* and *Pitṛyāna*, the paths by which the dead travel to their respective destination as entitled by their merit and which are so elaborately described in the *Bhagavadgītā* (VIII. 24 ff.). *Griffith*[5] takes the two ways to denote 'the way to the other world and the way back, regarded as distinct', but his translation of the first line into 'I have heard of two several pathways, way of the fathers, way of gods and mortals' is not clear. To *Deussen*,[6] to interpret this verse to mean the *Devayāna* and the *Pitṛyāna* of the Upanisads

[1] *Op. cit*, p 1618.

[2] Op. cit., VII 1409.

[3] I. 42. 3; 46. 11; VIII 91. 1; IX. 78 2; VI. 24. 4; X. 32. 7; 88. 15.

[4] RV. X. 88. 15=YV. XIX. 47.

[5] *White Yajurveda*, p. 179 n.

[6] *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 318; but the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, itself (XIV, 9. 1. 1=*Bṛ. Up.* VI. 2. 1) interprets the verse in this way.

would only be to strain the *Saṁhitā* text to make it suit the purpose of the Upaniṣads. According to him, the 'two ways' meant here are those of day and night, and the import of the entire verse is that all beings are subject to the laws of day and night. *Deussen* justifies his interpretation on the ground that elsewhere[1] Agni is spoken of as having a dual character, Sun by day and fire by night. His explanation could be accepted if it were certain that the present verse alludes to the 'paths' of Agni. But the allusion here seems to be only to the paths which are to be traversed (at death) by the whole lot of human beings.[2] *Sāyaṇa* is right when he gives this explanation, but he makes a jumble in understanding the first line where he seems to assign one path for the manes and gods and another for the mortals *pitṝṇām ca devānām ca utāpi ca martyānām manuṣyāṇām ca dve srutī dvau mārgau*). The same is the case with *Griffith*[3] when he speaks of one pathway for the fathers and the other of gods and mortals. It seems possible to avoid all this confusion by taking *pitṝṇām* as an adjective of *Devānām*, and interpreting the first-half of the verse to mean "I have heard of two paths, one of (my) ancestors, the gods, and the other of mortals." It must be remembered in this connection that the seer of this verse is a descendant of the *Aṅgirases* who, as mentioned already, are said to have attained to *divinity* through their special prowess. Can it not be possible that the seer could be thinking here, when he speaks of 'two paths', the one achieved by his ancestors who obtained divinity, and the other that of ordinary mortals of inferior merit whose destiny lies in meeting Yama and revelling in his company? If so, this verse would be an additional evidence to show that *two* kinds of destiny for the virtuous were conceived by the Ṛgvedic people *immortality* or *divinity* for those whose achievement is of the front-rank, and *heavenly bliss* for the ordinary people whose merit lies only in their virtue. If besides this, we take note of the fact that these seers also knew

[1] X. 83. 15.

[2] cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 171. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 145 n.

[3] *supra*; Muir's explanation of this verse is plausible when he makes *martyānām* the adjective of *sruti* (*Original Sanskrit Texts*, I. 434; V. 287).

that there is a distinction[1] in the paths traversed by the gods and the manes, that the former is lustrous and belongs to the immortals, and that all those passing through it must pass through Agni, we are quite near the conception of the *Devayāna* and the *Pitryāna* in the Upanisads which describe these *two* paths in all elaborateness and in greater detail.

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[1] cf. the Avestan conception of the *Cinvato Peretu* or *Cinvat-peretu* (Bridge of the Separater) which is said to appear to the righteous to be 9 spears' or 27 arrows' length across, but as narrow as a razor's edge for the godless man, so that he falls into Hell. (Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Worterbuch*, 597, cited by J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 165.

"THE SUPPOSED IDENTIFICATION OF UDAYANA OF KAUŚĀMBI WITH UDAYIN OF MAGADHA"

BY

LILADHAR B. KENY

Synonymous names in the different chronologies of the Purāṇas have raised a suspicion for their identity. Udayana of Kauśāmbi and Udayin of Magadha are two of such names in ancient historical tradition. And recently an effort has been made to identify them with each other.

In an article recently contributed in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXI, pp. 97–99 Dr. Seth tried to identify with each other these two historically different personalities altogether, mainly basing his conclusion on the following grounds:

(1) that they are slight variants of the same name;

(2) that they are contemporary;

(3) that they are described in literary tradition with similar characteristics,

(4) that the Purāṇas do not mention Udayin (of the Magadha dynasty) as the son of Darśaka;

(5) that the Matsya Purāṇa mentions the successor of King Ajātaśatru (of Magadha) as Vamsaka which recalls the Vaṃsas of Kauśāmbi;

(6) that Hiuen Tsiang mentions Darśaka (of Magadha) as the last king of the line of Bimbisāra, and so his successor Udayin belonged to some other dynasty;

(7) that the Purāṇas inform that Udayin (of Magadha) changed his capital from Rājagṛha to Kusumapura (Pātaliputra), and change of capital signifies a change of the ruling dynasty; and finally

(8) that the literary traditions indicate the conquest and annexation of Magadha by Udayana (of Vatsa).

Taking into consideration the evidence obtained in the Purānas and other allied literature, one may safely come to the conclusion that the arguments put forth by Dr. Seth are rather presumptuous the question of the identity of these two different kings not arising at all. We shall now try to enter into the details of the *pros* and *cons* of the problem.

Together with the Purānas the Buddhist Chronicles mention the order of succession of the later Śaiśunāga kings of Magadha, which should not be neglected. Comparing the Purānic and Buddhist traditions Dr. Bhandarkar says that " it is not safe to rely upon the account furnished by the Purāṇas for this early period so far at any rate as the order of succession and the duration of individual reigns are concerned." And so " the tradition presented in the Mahāvamsa about the Magadha dynasties seems...more reliable." [1]

The Purāṇas and the Buddhist Chronicles have detailed different versions regarding the succession of the rulers of Magadha and Vatsa respectively. Śatānīka, Udayana and Vahinara, according to the Purānas,[2] or Śatānīka (Parantapa), Udayana and Bodhi, according to the Buddhist Chronicles,[3] formed the order of succession of the kings of Vatsa. On the other hand Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Darśaka, Udayin, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, according to the Purānas,[4] or Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Udayabhadda, Anuruddha, Munda and Nāgadāsaka, according to the Buddhist Chronicles,[5] were the kings of Magadha. According to the Pali Canons Udayana of Vatsa, Prasenajit of Kośala, Pradyota of Avanti and Bimbisāra of Magadha were all contemporaries of the Buddha, and so, of each other.

According to Dr. Seth,[6] Udayana of Vatsa was a very junior

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[1] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 71.

[2] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 5-7.

[3] *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, pp. 164-66; *Visudhatīrthakalpa*, p. 23; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kśatriya Tribes*, p. 134; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 60, pp. 14, 16, 18.

[4] Pargiter, *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

[5] *Mahāvaṃsa*, IV, 1-4 (Geiger's edition), Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 72.

[6] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXI, p. 97.

contemporary of the Buddha. But the Buddhist Chronicles [1] state that the great preacher died in the 8th year of Ajātaśatru's reign. Moreover Udayin of Magadha who immediately succeeded Ajātaśatru according to the same chronicles, and two generations later according to the Purānas, could never have been a contemporary of the Buddha. Thus the two kings with "slight variants of the same name" are absolutely different personages. The only factor of the names being synonymous does not help the argument. And even in the Purānas we get two different kings but having synonymous names. Dasaratha of Ayodhyā and Yādava dynasties, Prasenajit of Magadha and Ayodhyā dynasties, and Nandivardhana of Videha and Magadha dynasties are a few of the many examples.

Svapnavāsavadatta, one of the plays of Bhāsa, mentions the marriage of Udayana of Vatsa with Padmāvatī, the sister of Darśaka, the king of Magadha The drama no doubt proves the reality of the existence of Darśaka as king of Magadha. But it does not mention in the least the immediate succession of Darśaka after Ajātaśatru. [2] Following the Purānic tradition Dr. Seth says that Padmāvatī was the daughter of Ajātaśatru It looks quite improbable to note that the name of such a famous king as Ajātaśatru is never referred to by the dramatist. Moreover the Darśaka of the Purānas is identified with the Nāgadāsaka of the Buddhist Chronicles [3] According to these Chronicles Darśaka succeeded to the throne of Magadha not immediately after Ajātaśatru but three generations later. Svapnavāsavadatta mentions Padmāvatī as sister of Darśaka and not as daughter of Ajātaśatru. Moreover, according to the Buddhist traditions, Udayin of Magadha was a favourite child of Ajātaśatru even during the life time of Bimbisāra, and he was a youthful prince at the meeting of his father with the Buddha. Naturally he must be middle aged at the death of Ajātaśatru. But Darśaka, according to the Svapnavāsavadatta, was very young when he came to the throne, and when Udayana of Vatsa

1 *Mahāvaṃsa*, II 32, *Dīpavaṃsa*, III, 60.

2 Raichaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 143-144; Cf. Pradhan, *Chronologies of Ancient India*, pp 216-17.

3 Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 71.

was married to Padmāvatī.[1] So Darśaka could not have come between Ajātaśatru and Udayin of Magadha. And so Padmāvatī cannot be the daughter of Ajātaśatru, as Dr. Seth supposes. From the above we conclude that Udayana who married Padmāvatī and Udayin who succeeded Ajātaśatru were two different kings reigning at two different places and at two different periods. Thus the "gentle, lovable and virtuous king" of the Svapnavāsavadatta is Udayana of Vatsa, and the "Dharmātmā" of the Gārga-Saṃhitā stands for the Udayin of Magadha.

In identifying the two kings Dr. Seth says that "in the Purāṇas Udayin (of Magadha) is not called as the son of Darśaka. He is only mentioned as Darśaka's successor. Generally if the successor has been the son of the previous king then it has been so mentioned in the Purāṇas." We have already shown that Udayin succeeded not Darśaka but Ajātaśatru. But even taking the Purāṇic tradition as correct, as Dr. Seth takes it, Darsaka was Udayin's predecessor and father. Even the kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of the Magadha dynasty, who are best known as father and son, are not mentioned accordingly in the Purāṇas, but only as mere successors one after the other. According to the Purāṇas and the Buddhist Chronicles, either Darśaka or Ajātaśatru was the father of Udayin of Magadha. But the same traditions mention a Śatānīka as the father of the Udayana of Kauśāmbi or Vatsa. This shows that they were two different kings. The Purāṇas do not necessarily mention the successor as a son even if he is one.

Taking into consideration the Magadha dynasty of the Śaiśunāga kings, as mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa, which states Vaṃsaka as the successor of Ajātaśatru, Dr. Seth argues that this Vaṃsaka recalls the Vaṃsas of Kauśāmbi. In his own words the learned Doctor says "It is difficult to say whether Vaṃsaka is a corrupt reading for Darśaka..." If we take into consideration the list of the Śaiśunāga kings of Magadha in the other Purāṇas we find instead of Vaṃsaka a Darbhaka in the

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, XLIV, p. 45; according to Dr. Bhandarkar Udayana of Vatsa was married to Padmāvatī in the first year of Darśaka's reign. (*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 70).

Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata, a Harsaka or Darśaka in the Vāyu and a Darśaka in the Brahmānda. Darśaka is the most central form,[1] the rest being definitely its corruptions. And so the Vaṃsake of the Matsya Purāna does not seem to be connected with the Vaṃsas (or Vatsas or the people of Vatsa) in any way. It has got nothing to do with Udayana of Vatsa.

Mentioning Hiuen Tsiang's tradition that "... the saṅghārāma of the Tilaḍaka ... was built by the last descendant of Bimbisārarājā "[2] Dr. Seth argues that Darśaka was " the last descendant " and that he was succeeded by a king of some other dynasty-King Udayana of Vatsa. We have already seen that the Purānic Darśaka is the same as the Buddhist Nāgadāsaka[3] who was succeeded by Susunāga.[4] The Ceylonese Chronicles state that all the kings from Ajātaśatru to Nāgadāsaka were parricides, and so the people became angry, banished the dynasty and raised an amātya named Susunāga to the throne of Magadha.[5] The epithet Nāga is prefixed to Dāsaka to distinguish him from his successor Susunāga who belonged to a somewhat different family.[6] The Chinese traveller's " last descendant of Bimbisārarājā " refers therefore to the Magadhan Nāgadāsaka (Darśaka) whose successor was Susunāga- " a minister apparently of Darsaka "[7] and not Udayana of Vatsa as Dr. Seth thinks.

Referring to the Purānic information that Udayin (of the Śaiśunāga dynasty of Magadha) changed his capital from Rājagṛha to Kusumapura (Pātaliputra) Dr. Seth identifies the Udayin of Magadha with Udayana of Vatsa because " change of capital," according to the learned Doctor, " often signifies a change of the ruling dynasty. " We have already seen that Udayin was the son and successor of Ajātasatru of Magadha. Naturally he belonged to the same Śaiśunāga dynasty as his

1 Pargiter, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22 (foot-note).
2 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 102.
3 *Ibid.*, (f. n.) ; Cf. Raichaudhuri, *Op. Cit*, p 144.
4 *Mahāvaṃsa*, IV, 6. *Dīpavaṃsa* V. 98; *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 72.
5 *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 5-6; *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 98; Cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, 153.
6 Bhandarkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 71.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

predecessors. Moreover ancient historical traditions do mention changes of capitals, the dynasties remaining the same.

On the basis of Bhāsa's Svapnavāsavadatta Dr. Seth says that the marriage of Udayana (of Vatsa) was arranged more for political reasons. As far as this he is perfectly right. But we do not agree with his statement about the "annexation of Magadha by Udayana" (of Vatsa). According to the above literary tradition, as he must be well aware, the kingdom of Vatsa was on the verge of destruction on account of internal revolutions started by a rebel Āruni.[1] It would, thus, appear rather illogical to think that the Vatsa minister Yaugandharāyana was ambitious for the conquest of Magadha, when his own land was being pestered with civil war. The river Ganges was the only boundary between Magadha and Vatsa. And naturally the wise and able minister Yaugandharāyaṇa was afraid that the revolution might be fomented by the king of Magadha. And it was this "political reason" which led to the matrimonial alliance between the two houses of Vatsa and Magadha and not the political reason of the annexation of Magadha by Vatsa as Dr. Seth thinks. This marriage of great political significance meant not only Magadha's abstention from actively helping the insurgents of the Vatsa country, but also a prompt aid from Magadha in putting down the rebellion in Vatsa. Darśaka of Magadha at once helped the Vatsa war-minister Rumaṇvan with a large army of elephants, cavalry and infantry to make the rebellious land of Vatsa quite secure.[2] Apart from the annexation of Magadha by Vatsa we find on the other hand the annexation of Vatsa by the later Śaiśunāga kings of Magadha.[3] During the regin of the Nandas, Vatsa had lost her independence.[4] From the above we clearly see that Udayana of Vatsa was a different king than Udayin of Magadha.

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1 *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act V, p. 51 (Kale's Edition).

2 "Eṣa khalu bhavatomātyo Rumaṇvān mahatā balasamudayenopayātaḥ khalvāruṇimabhighātayitum. Tathā hastyaśvarathapadātīni māmakāni vijayāṅgāni sannaddhāni". *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act V, p. 51.

3 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, I, p. 89.

4 Law. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 60, p. 11.

All this would be enough to prove that Udayana and Udayin were two different kings ruling at two different places Vatsa and Magadha respectively, and at two different periods in history. Even the fact that the predecessors and successors of these two kings were different may further corroborate our statement.

Thus the predecessor and successor of the Udayana of Vatsa were, according to the Purāṇas, Śatānīka and Vahinara, and according to the Buddhist Chronicles, Śatānīka and Bodhi respectively. But the predecessor and successor of the Udayin of Magadha were Darśaka and Nandivardhana, according to the Purāṇas, and Ajātaśatru (Ajātasattu) and Anuruddha, respectively, according to the Buddhist Chronicles. They were thus two different personages.

When the Buddha visited Bhagga country, it was ruled over by Bodhi the son of Udayana.[1] But the Buddha had already retired from this world at the time of Udayin, as we have already seen. This again shows that they were two absolutely different kings.

[1] Law, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 60, p. 16.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA[1]

BY

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1. For several years, the question of the origin and growth of the Mahābhārata has engaged the attention of the scholars. The scholars like Holtzmann (Junior), Ludwig, Dahlmann, Jacobi, Von Schroeder, Hopkins, Macdonell, C. V. Vaidya and others have in their own way proposed various views regarding the origin and growth of the Mahābhārata. But these views do not primarily consider the question of the final redaction of the Mahābhārata that is to say, who should be considered responsible for making the epic consist of a lakh of verses, including the Kāvya, Smṛti and Nītiśāstra at once. This aspect of the question for the first time struck the late Dr. Sukthankar, who formulated a theory regarding the final redaction of the Mahābhārata.[2] He has collected and collated therein, the Bhārgava references and has observed that 'the Bhārgavas spring into prominence all of a sudden in the Mahābhārata' and that all Bhārgava material is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga of the Bharatas, occurring as it does almost wholly in the episodic portion of the epic. He came to the conclusion that in the formative period of the epic, a powerful Bhārgava influence direct or indirect had been at work in shaping our epic for us. This theory of Dr. Sukthankar is of great importance as it, for the first time, points to the proper approach to the problem of the redaction of the Mahābhārata. But it is necessary to investigate this problem further and to find out whether there are other Brahman families who might have influenced the composition of

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[1] I am highly indebted to my Guru Prof. H. D. Velankar and the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, for the help they gave me in my study of the Mahābhārata.

[2] See A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XVIII, pages 1-76 (hereafter referred to as Epic Studies VI).

the present Mahābhārata. If there are such families what may be their exact relation with the Bhṛgus? The aim of this paper is to evaluate the Brahmanical element in the Mahābhārata and to discuss how far the results thus obtained help towards the solution of the problem of the authorship of the Mahābhārata.

2. At the very beginning it is to be borne in mind that the Śatasāhasrī Saṁhitā or the Mahābhārata of a lakh of verses is the starting point of the present discussion. Vyāsa is the traditional author of the Mahābhārata. But this is not proved by the internal evidence of the text of the Mahābhārata. For, Vyāsa is said to have composed only Bhārata, a collection of 24000 verses, without the Upākhyānas.[1] Naturally it must be seen as to who is responsible for the addition of about 76000 verses to the Original Bhārata; in other words, it is necessary to investigate the problem of the final redaction of the Mahābhārata. Even though in the present Mahābhārata there seem to be, two distinct and separate phases namely, the Bhārata and the Mahābhārata, the Caturviṁśatisāhasrī and the Śatasāhasrī Saṁhitās,[2] it can be easily conceded that the Mahābhārata as a whole presents a complete unity of characters, aims, ideas and subject matter. There is a general frame-work in which all its episodes fit themselves quite well. Thus there is an undisputable unity in the present redaction of the Mahābhārata. Of course this unity in such a vast work, described as, a literary monster,[3] is to be seen in a general manner only. Still it is important that it is there and that it is not a hotch-potch work. This unity of redaction presupposes the unity of the redactors without which the underlying unity cannot be maintained. So the redactors of the Mahābhārata must have formed a complete unity among themselves. Coming to the question as to who these redactors may be, we get a definite clue from the attempt at the Brahmanisation of the incidents and episodes in the Mahābhārata. There has been a definite attempt in the whole of the Mahābhārata to press the majority of the incidents and episodes in the

[1] Cf. Mbh. I. 1. 102-103.

[2] Cf. Dr. V. S Sukthankar: The Nala Episode in the Mahābhārata in the Volume of Eastern and Indian studies presented to Prof. Thomas 1939 page 302.

[3] See Winternitz: A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, page 326.

cause of the Brahmanic religion. The Mahābhārata in fact deserves to be called 'Encyclopaedia Brahmanica'.[1] It is probable that it was due to the attempts of the Brāhmaṇas that the Bhārata of 24000 verses was enlarged into the Mahābhārata of a lakh of verses, claiming to be the Encyclopaedia of Brahmanic traditions. Thus it remains to be seen as to who these Brāhmaṇas might be. What must be their purpose in this attempt? How was the unity among the redactors maintained ?

3. With this purpose, a survey of all the Brāhmanas occurring in the Mahābhārata was made and it was found that nearly 275 different names of the Brāhmanas occurred 8500 times on the whole in the Mahābhārata. It was further seen whether these names of the Brāhmaṇas could be traced to definite and important Brāhmana families. In this connection it may be noted that there are repeated references in the epic to the seven sages, who were the 'mind-born' sons of Brahman. These are : Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha.[2] Bhṛgu is born of the 'heart' of Brahman. In the enumeration of the twenty-one Prajāpatis, there is a mention of these seven sages, with the addition of Bhṛgu to them.[3] These seven sages (without Bhṛgu being included in them) form the group of sages called Sapta Citraśikhaṇḍins. These seven sages are also called the seven prakṛtis of Nārāyana by which the entire world is supported.[4] Bhrgu appears to have been added to this group later on. For, we find Bhṛgu in addition to these sages being included in the list of the Prajāpatis in Manu Smṛti.[5]

Accepting these eight to be the principal sages (viz. Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha and Bhṛgu), let us then turn to their proper evaluation and representation in the Mahābhārata. Out of nearly 8500 references to the Brāhmaṇas, we find the following to be the total individual references to these eight sages and other members of the families

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[1] See Epic studies VI, page 68.

[2] Cf. Mbh. XII, 208, 3-5.

[3] Cf. Mbh. XII, 334, 35-36.

[4] Cf. Mbh. XII, 335, 30.

[5] Cf. i. 35.

represented by them : (i) Marīci, 175 ; (ii) Atri, 60 ; (iii) Aṅgiras, 3200 ; (iv) Pulastya. 35 , (v) Pulaha, 20 ; (vi) Kratu, 20 ; (vii) Vasiṣṭha, 830, (viii) Bhṛgu, 1500.

Out of these eight Brahmanical families, the five namely, Marīci, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu are not important as the number of their occurrence indicates. The family of Marīci is represented by his son Kaśyapa[1] and his descendants, the Kāśyapas. Marīci alone occurs 26 times in the epic. About Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu, we do not read much The family of Atri is connected with that of the Angiras by matrimonial connections i. e. by the marriage of Bhadrā with Utathya Āṅgirasa. But otherwise it is not in any way prominent in the epic. Thus ultimately we are left with the four principal families, viz. Aṅgiras, Bhṛgu, Kaśyapa (represented by Marīci in the list of the seven sages) and Vasiṣṭha. In fact these four are actually mentioned to be the principal Gotras in the epic. Cf. Mbh. XII. 296. 17.

मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि समुत्पन्नानि भारत ।
अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च ॥

Looking to these principal families of the Brāhmaṇas, from their numerical representation in the epic, we find that the Aṅgirases and the Bhṛgus form an over-whelming majority over others. Leaving out Kaśyapa (in the family of Marīci) as non-important, there remain out of four only these, viz the Angiriases, the Bhṛgus and Vasisthas, who are prominently represented in the Mahābhārata.

In the Āṅgirasa family we find the following 25 members directly belonging to it:— 1 Aṅgiras ; 2 Atharvan ; 3 Aśvatthāman ; 4 Āṅgirasī ; 5 Utathya ; 6 Kaca ; 7 Kakṣīvat ; 8 Gautama ; 9 Caṇḍa Kauśika ; 10 Cirakāri Gautama ; 11 Dīrghatamas ; 12 Droṇa ; 13 Bala ; 14 Bṛhaspati ; 15 Bharadvāja ; 16 Yavakrīta ; 17 Śāradvata Gautama ; 18 Śrutāvatī ; 19 Saṁvarta, 20 Sārasvata, 21 Sudhanvan ; 22 Payasya ; 23 Śānti ; 24 Ghora and 25 Virūpa are also mentioned to be the sons of Angiras. We do not hear anything of them beyond mere mention.

[1] Cf. Mbh. XII. 208. 8.

In the family of Bhrgu[1] we similarly find the following 15 members: 1 Bhrgu; 2 Kavi; 3 Śukra; 4 Cyavana; 5 Aurva; 6 Ṛcīka; 7 Jamadagni; 8 Paraśurāma; 9 Pramati; 10 Ruru; 11 Śunaka; 12 Dadhīca; 13 Mārkaṇḍeya, 14 Vipula and 15 Uttaṅka.

Now as regards the Vasiṣṭha family, it may be pointed out that Vyāsa, a Vāsiṣṭha, is credited with the authorship of the Bhārata, which originally consisted of only 24000 verses and had no episodes to speak of. Cf.

चतुर्विंशतिसाहस्रीं चक्रे भारतसंहिताम् ।
उपाख्यानैर्विना तावद्भारतं प्रोच्यते बुधैः ॥

Mbh. I. i. 102–103

This accounts for the presence of the Vāsiṣṭha element in the Mahābhārata. Thus by a process of elimination we have found out that out of the eight families or Gotras, there remain only two viz. the Angirases and the Bhrgus as the prominent ones in the Mahābhārata. The number of times of their occurrences in the epic is 3200 and 1500 respectively. Comparatively speaking, the Angirases are found in almost a majority of two to one over the Bhṛgus; but this is evidently due to the fact that a whole major Parvan (Droṇa parvan) is devoted to the exploits of Droṇa Āṅgirasa.

4. Coming to the question of the relation between the Bhṛgus and Aṅgirases, we learn that the Atharva Veda is associated with the mystic fire priests of prehistoric antiquity, Atharvan, and Aṅgiras (and later on also Bhrgu), resulting into the names: Atharvāngiras, Bhrgvangiras and finally Atharva Veda. The name *Atharvāṅgiras* is mentioned in the Atharva Veda itself (A. V. X. 7. 20). The name *Bhṛgvaṅgiras* is almost wholly restricted to the ritual texts of the Atharvans.[2] The term Bhṛgvangiras, always found in the compound 'Bhrgvaṅgirovid', is the favourite designation of the Atharvaveda. It appears that at some later stage the term Bhṛgu replaced the term Atharvan in the earlier name Atharvāṅgiras and we got a new name, Bhṛgvṅgiras. It was due to the inherent relation

[1] For the detailed account of the Bhṛgus, see V. S. Sukthankar's Epic Studies VI in A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XVIII, pages 1–76.

[2] Cf. Bloomfield: Atharva Veda page 9.

between the three, Bhṛgu, Atharvan, and Angiras; as all these are, in general, on the same level, concerned as they are in the production and service of fire, as also in the cultivation and the spread of magical spells. Occasionally in the Mantras they are found all together or Bhṛgu is found in the company of Atharvan or Aṅgiras.[1] This inter-relation continues in the Yajus and the Brāhmana texts in such a way that the juxtaposition of Bhrgu and Angiras becomes exceedingly frequent, broaching on the complete synonymy reached in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 4. 1. 5. 1 when the sage Cyavana is designated either as a Bhārgava or as an Āngirasa. These Bhrgvaṅgirases seem to be indispensable to the institution of sacrifice. For the Gopatha Brhāmana points out without Bhrgvaṅgirases the sacrifice limps like a quadruped deprived of its feet. All these considerations point to the conclusion that the members of the Bhrgu and Angiras family formed a unity in themselves for all practical purposes as suggested by the Vedic tradition about the sameness of the source,[2] from which they were originated. The main purpose of the Atharvanic texts seems to be the glorification of Bhrgu and Angiras in particular and of Brāhmaṇas and sacrifice in general. But in addition to these it is quite possible that they represent an attempt of the Brahmanic orthodoxy led by the Bhrgus and Aṅgirases to enlist the sympathy of the masses, whose beliefs and traditions are faithfully recorded in the Atharva Veda, by raising the unorthodox Atharvāṅgiras Veda to the level of the other three orthodox Vedas, thus making four as the number of the Vedas.

Coming down to the Mahābhārata, we find the same close relationship between the two families reflected in the oft recurring compound Bhrgvaṅgiras. The same old tradition about their common origin is preserved and continued even in the epic. A similar attempt to exalt the Atharva Veda and the family of Atharvāṅgiras is evident in the story of Nahuṣa,[3]

[1] Cf. RV. X. 92. 10 and VIII. 43. 13.

[2] Cf. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. 1. i. 1-15.

[3] Cf. Mbh. V. 18. 5-8.

when Indra is made to confer a boon on the Atharva Veda, that the Veda would be thereafter known by the name "Atharvāṅgirasa" and that Atharvan would have a share in the sacrifice.

A close relationship of the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgirases is also clearly seen in the double denominations which some members of these families get. Thus Cyavana, Dadhica and Gṛtsamada are both Bhārgava and Āṅgirasa. It is further interesting to know that the Mahābhārata mentions of an age when the whole world war peopled with the descendants of the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas[1] only.

Another important feature of these families i. e. of Bhṛgu and Angiras is that we do not mostly meet either of these families joined with any priestly family other than these two: Of these two families, the Aṅgirases were evidently the senior branch and the Bhrgus were the junior one. Even in the field of politics and spells, the Angirases appear as the earlier receivers of these, while the Bhārgavas have received the same from the Angirases. The inherent unity and the sameness of interests of these two families, however, are quite evident in both the Vedic and the epic periods. Both these strike us as the most enthusiastic religious reformers and undaunted champions of the cause of Brahmanism.

5. It can be easily seen that the Bhṛgvaṅgirases occupied a very peculiar position in the AV. In the RV. the Aṅgirases are described as seers, who are the sons of gods (RV. X. 62. 4) or of Agni (RV. X. 62. 2). On the one hand they are associated with the groups of divine beings such as Ādityas, Vasus and Maruts (RV. III. 44. 4 and 35. 14), on the other hand they are related with mortals like the Atharvans (RV. X. 18.13) and the Bhrgus (RV. K. 14.6.). They are also the Brāhmana priests, who by means of sacrifice acquired immortality and Indra's friendship (RV, X. 62. 1.). They found Agni hidden in the wood (RV. V. 11. 6.). They thought of the first ordinance of sacrifice. Indra, Agni. and Usas are called the best of the Aṅgirases (Aṅgirastama, RV. I. 100. 4). Atharvan rubbed forth Agni (RV. VI. 16. 13) and the priests rub Agni as Atharvan did (RV. VI. 15. 17). Atharvan first established rites by sacrifices, while the Bhṛgus showed themselves to be the gods by their skill (RV. X. 92. 10).

[1] See Mbh. XIII. 91. I.

Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa occupies a position of considerable importance in the RV., eleven entire hymns being dedicated to sing his praise. Sacrifice does not succeed without him (RV. I. 18. 7), It seems that Bṛhaspati was originally considered as the presiding deity over prayer and later on ascribed to the family of Aṅgiras. Bharadvāja is described as Bārhaspatya and is the traditional seer of several hymns of the VI Mandala of the RV. The Bharadvājas are called Aṅgirases at RV. VI. 35. 5. Bhṛgu is the seer of RV. IX. 65 and X 19. There are many other individual Bhārgavas who are the traditional seers of a number of hymns of the RV. The Bhrgus are chiefly connected with the communication of Agni to men. Mātariśvan brought Agni to Bhrgus (RV. I. 60. 1). The Bhṛgus are the ancient priests, for the sacrificers speak of them together with the Angirases and Atharvans as their soma-loving fathers (RV. VIII. 43. 13). Rāma Bhārgaveya (Paraśurāma) is the traditional seer of RV. X. 110. Gṛtsamada, who was first an Āṅgirasa and then a Bhārgava is the traditional seer of the second Mandala of the RV, The sage Cyavana was a Bhārgava, Dadhyan or Dadhici is the son or descendant of Atharvan (RV. VI. 16. 14). Jamadagni was a Bhārgava and a traditional seer of a number of hymns of the RV.

6. *Statement of the new theory*

Before we proceed with our new theory, let us now take bird's eye-view of the foregoing discussion. From a brief review of the position occupied by the Angirases and the Bhṛgus in the Vedic literature, it was observed that the priestly clans of the Angirases and the Bhrgus were regarded as coming out of the same source in the AV. The inherent relation between these two families was also noticed in their common literary activity in the shape of the Atharva-veda which is otherwise known as the Bhṛgvaṅgirasa Veda. Thus the inherent unity among the members of these two inter-related families was established in the Vedic literature. This unity among the members of these two families seems to have gone to such an extent that some members get the denominations of both the families in later times. The members of these two families were great philosophers, leaders and religious teachers. Moreover, these were great fire-worshippers, sacrificers and seers of many hymns

of RV. Thus from these observations we may conclude that the Aṅgirases and the Bhrgus were very important and influential members of the Brahmanical society, as reflected in the vedic literature. In the Mahābhārata, too, we find the continuation of their vedic relations and traditions. Even here as in the Vedic literature a common source is attributed to Aṅgiras and Bhṛgu[1]. Out of these two families, the latter possessed, as Bloomfield[2] has observed, an undefinable tendency to magnify their own importance. This tendency is very markedly reflected even in the Mahābhārata. Here the Bhṛgus are depicted as more "irascible, domineering, arrogant, unbending and revengeful sages" as Dr. Sukthankar observes.[3] However, it is also observed that the Angirases are equally powerful and worthy of respect in the epic. Three of the great warriors of the Mahābhārata war were the Aṅgirases, viz. Kṛpa. Droṇa and Aśvatthāman.

Regarding the main achievements of the members of these two families, it may be observed that they are very important for the study of the growth of the epic.

Angiras the originator of the Āṅgirasa family, himself had acted as Agni.[4] He was a leader of the Brāhmaṇas.[5] Nīti and Dharma Śāstra are said to have been first revealed to him.[6] He was one of the Saptacitraśikhandins.[7] He was a great and enthusiastic religious reformer. He preached the doctrine of Tīrtha-yātrā and Upavāsa (fasting) as easier substitute for the more cumbrous vedic sacrifices.[8] Angirasa's anixiety to substitute easy practices of religious rites for the difficult ones such as sacrifices, is quite obvious in these. Here we also see an attempt on the part of Aṅgiras to enlist the sympathy of the masses in general. Atharvan, another member of the family, had secured the recognition for the Atharva Veda in the Brahmanical circle. A

1 Cf Mbh. XIII. 85. 35.
2 Cf. Bloomfield: Atharva Veda page 9.
3 Epic studies VI page 64
4 Cf. Mbh. III. 217-232.
5 Cf. Mbh. XIV. 35. 27.
6 Cf. Mbh. XII. 122. 36-49.
7 Cf. Mbh. XII. 335-336.
8 Cf. Mbh. XIII. 26. 71 and 106, 35-50.

share in sacrifice was apportioned to the Atharvan priest. Even Atharvan was a religious reformer like Aṅgiras. The teaching of the Atharva Veda shows itself as an under-current in the various events and episodes described in the great epic. The story of the birth of some of the principal epic heroes such as the Pāṇḍavas,[2] the Astravidyā which they received from their Aṅgirasa teachers, the actual war which was fought with the help of the magical missiles, the political importance attached in those days to the Purohita of a king-all these fully illustrate how the teachings and influence of the AV. had attained prominence in the epic society. Traditionally Bhṛgvaṅgirases are regarded as the authors of the AV. Very probably they may have been at least the editors of the Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda. It is also noteworthy that even according to the tradition personal denomination is given to this Veda only, if 'Atharvan' in the word 'Atharva Veda' is supposed to be the name of the sage. In the Mahābhārata, we find that Atharvan was granted a boon by Indra that the AV. would be known after him. Here we must also bear in mind the popular nature of the teaching of the Atharva Veda. Daily life of an average Aryan is based more on the teaching of this Veda than on that of any other. Thus it seems probable that the leaders of the Brāhmaṇas such as the Aṅgirases and the Bhṛgus championed the cause of the Brāhmaṇas among the masses, particularly with the help of the Atharva Veda. In the Mahābhārata we notice that a very high position was occupied by them. Bṛhaspati and Śukra are great politicians and religious teachers.[3] They are also said to be the Vibhūtis of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Brahaspati propagated the Śāstra of the Saptacitraśikhandins. He was a trusted teacher of Uparicara Vasu. He preached Ahiṃsā.[4] Lord Kṛṣṇa himself is said to be a descendant of Śukra. Thus we may say that the prevalence of the Bhāgavata Dharma and the Dharma-Nīti element in the Mahābhārata was due to the revising hand of the members of the Bhṛgvaṅgiras family. Paraśurāma, Droṇa,

[1] Cf. Mbh. V. 10-18.

[2] Cf. Mbh. III. 300-310.

[3] Cf. Mbh. XII. 59. 81-85 and XIII. 98.

[4] Cf. Mbh. XII. 335-336.

Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa, all had mastered the teaching of the AV. regarding the magical missiles.[1] Their superiority in this respect is seen at every step in the actual war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. The Kuru princes were but students directly or indirectly of these Bhṛgvaṅgiras teachers. Bhīṣma in Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans does nothing but summarise the teachings of Bṛhaspti and Śukra, the members of the great Bhṛgvangiras family. There will be thus no difficulty in admitting that the Bhrgvaṅgiras element is not only very prominent in the epic in its present form but is also closely associated with the original saga of the Bharatas. Paraśurāma is connected with the epic heroes, and on one occasion had actually attended the court of the Kauravas. Bhīṣma and Karṇa are his pupils.[2] Droṇa, Aśvatthāman, Gautama – all Angirases, are the teachers of the Kuru princes. Thus there is no doubt that the Bhṛgvaṅgiras element is vitally connected with the nucleus of the Mahābhārata.

The Vaiṣṇava element and the Dharma-Nīti element in the epic were also probably due to these Bhrgvaṅgiras teachers as said above. The methods of magical warfare were similarly introduced mainly by these Bhrgvaṅgiras teachers. Bhrgu was also a great philosopher.[3] The Bhṛgvangirases were evidently great religious reformers. The old and complicated sacrificial observances, though looked upon as high ideals still, were not within the reach of the ordinary man. They were too expensive and elaborate for him. Hence the religious teachers like the Angirases and the Bhrgus found out substitutes for them. These substitutes were self-dependent and hence they preached nothing but the very same time-honoured ancient Vedic religion; compare for example, the oft-recurring sentence *Eṣa dharmas sanātanaḥ* in the Mahābhārata.

Another thing that also deserves notice in this connection, is the great importance of the story-form in the process of instruction which must have been appreciated by the Bhrgvaṅgirases. The Jains and Buddhists, in order to win the minds of the

[1] Cf. Mbh. 1. 55; VIII. 34 and 90. 4; VII. 7. 1-7.

[2] Cf. Mbh. V. 173-196 and 78. 97-103.

[3] See Epic studies VI. page 48.

masses, used this very popular method of appealing to them in later days, but even their early precursors of the epic days must have made use of the stories, narratives, fables and so on, for preaching their heterodox doctrines. The Brahmanic orthodoxy and particularly the Bhrgus and the Aṅgirases, who had felt some such need of the proper method of appealing to the people must have naturally been very happy to find such a story-treasure as the Bhārata, ready at hand. At that time, the legends of the Kuru war must have been a very popular form of entertainment for even the enlightened people, who really control the thought-waves spreading to the lowest strata of the society.

We saw above, that among the Brahmanical families the Bhrgvaṅgirases were the most influencial and honoured ones on account of their tendency towards religious reforms, their regular cultivation of the science of magical missiles, their open practice of preaching magic and witchcraft in social and political life, as can be seen from the AV., with which their names are associated. Their terror was probobly felt even by the Ksatriyas, the martial class in the society. The magic coupled with the lore of the magical missiles in which the Bhṛgvaṅgirases were highly proficient might have inspired awe towards them among all other classes in the society including the Ksatriyas. Moreover, the Bhrgvangirases had championed the cause of the Brāhmaṇas, and had whole-heartedly supported the Vaiṣnava religion. Perhaps this is why we find Bhrgu, Śukra, Bṛhaspati and Rāma, mentioned as the Vibhūtis of Kṛṣna.[1] Thus the influence of the Bhrgvangirases must have worked for the betterment of the condition of the old vedic religion. The Bhārata like other popular compositions such as ballads and epics of all countries was evidently 'a fluid text' which could be adjusted to the varying needs of the times and the people. It is no wonder then that the Bhrgvaṅgirases adopted this fluid text of the Bhārata and utilised it as the vehicle of instructing the people in the new and simplified forms of the Vedic religion devised by them. Thus the Bhrgvaṅgirases

[1] Cf. Bhagavadgītā X. 24, 25, 31, 37.

who had already raised Atharva Veda to the rank of the fourth Veda, probably also made the saga of the Bhāratas occupy the elevated position of the fifth Veda.

Having seen the conditions in which the Bhṛgvaṅgirases may have been tempted to turn the saga of the Bharatas into the vehicle of public instruction, we can now easily understand the inherent unity in the plot, idea, characterisation and in every other respect which has been pointed out mainly by Dahlmann, that Champion of the synthetic school. We have reason to believe that the fluid text of the Bhārata must have been under the direct supervision and influence of the Bhṛgvaṅgirases for a long time. We have seen the inherent unity between the two priestly classes of Aṅgirases and Bhrgus both in the vedic and the epic literature. This unity already seen in the joint authorship of the AV., ascribed to them by tradition, easily explains the joint influence on and supervision of the Mahābhārata by the Bhrgvaṅgirases.

The work of increasing the bulk of the Mahābhārata by the addition of the episodes must have also been done by the Bhṛgvaṅgirases themselves. A question arises whether the Bhṛgvaṅgirases were the only persons, who were responsible for the final recast of the epic. The answer to this question can be given in the affirmative. It is shown above how out of the various names of the Brāhmanas, seven or eight appear to be the number of the chief families and how even among these seven or eight only two i. e. the Aṅgirases and the Bhṛgus are predominant in the Mahābhārata. The Bhrgvaṅgirases as a matter of fact, form an overwhelming majority over all others. There is no enmity among tho different members of the families of the Angirases and the Bhṛgus. We find Bṛhaspati and Śukra siding with rival parties. However, when Kaca goes to Śukra, the latter speaks with reverence of the family of Kaca.[1] Between the Aṅgirases and the Bhṛgus too, we notice the haughty, revengeful nature more in the Bhṛgus than in the Aṅgirases. However this does not come in the way of the inherent unity between these branches of the same common stock. We can therefore presume that the

[1] Cf. Mbh. I. 71.

fluid text of the Bhārata had come under the preponderating influence of the Bhṛgvangirases at one time during the growth of the epic and they must have incorporated in it all important legends current in the society about the superiority of Brāhmaṇas and Brahmanism at that time, since their aim evidently was to present an Encyclopaedia of the Brahmanic wisdom, power and traditions. This can be suggested from the boast of the epic itself at I. 56-63.

यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र, यदिह नास्ति तत्क्वचित् ।

On account of this aim of the redactors we find even a number of Brāhmanas untraced to any family, mentioned in the Mahābhārata, though they are individually quite ignorable. It is thus on account of the Bhrgvaṅgirases redacting or influencing the formation of the epic in its final form that the epic has maintained the unity in the midst of its manifold diversity.

The Mahābhārata has retained its popularity for the last 2500 years as has been rightly observed by Dr. Sukthankar[1] not merely on account of its barren teaching of the solidarity of religion, not only because it is an encyclopaedia of the Brahmanic traditions, not merely because of its being a history, but also because of its being composed in the form of the narrative poem. Thus the chief importance of the Mahābhārata is on account of its being a narrative Kāvya. Religious instruction through the medium of an attractive story-poem-must have been the chief aim of these great religious reformers i. e. Bhrgvaṅgirases in adopting the Bhārata and turning it into a sort of an encyclopaedia of Brahmanism. The Bhṛgvaṅgiras redactors of the final form of the Mahābhārata have also kept the *Suta*, the traditional minstrel as the principal figure. They themselves preferred to remain behind the scene, mainly because the Sutas were the traditional singers of the glories of the families. They appear to be giving public performances of the recital of their own compositions or of those composed by others. The Suta, therefore, represents the traditional minstrel. If we would bear in mind the purpose behind this amplification of the Mahābhārata by the Bhṛgvaṅgirases, we will certainly appre-

[1] See Epic studies VI, page 73.

ciate the traditional setting given to the whole work by them. This setting actually strengthened their position, as the traditional frame of the work inspired respect among the people. This is why we find that the Suta a traditional minstrel, comes to the hermitage of the sage Śaunaka, a Bhārgava and describes the various holy places which he had recently visited. He also points out how he had been to the holy place called Samantapañcaka and in fact he was' returning from it. He tells there how he was adept in narrating the account of the various families. Śaunaka being a Bhārgava naturally asks him to tell the account of the Bhrgus.[1]

तत्र वंशमहं पूर्वं श्रोतुमिच्छामि भार्गवम् ।

This is quite appropriate if we bear in mind the egoistic tendencies of the' Bhrgus when compared with the Angirases. The account of tha Angirases also has been narrated at great length later on.[2]

Thus the account of the Angirases and the Bhṛgus certainly favours the conclusion that the *Bhrgvaṅgirases were jointly responsible for the final redaction of the Mahābhārata, for making it a Dharma Śāstra, and a Nītiśāstra, and an Encyclopaedia of the Brahmanical traditions* and for preserving its unity in the midst of its manifold diversity. In this final recast of the Mahābhārata by the Bhṛgus and the Angirases, ths central unity was maintained the traditional frame work was preserved and at the same time, their purpose of the glorification of Brahmanism was fully accomplished. There would indeed be no difficulty in granting this conclusion if we remember the following facts, already proved above in this connection, about the Bhrgus and the Aṅgirases. These are :- (1) The numerical superiority of the members of these two families over the members of any other Brahmanical families mentioned in the Mahābhārata, (2) their undeniable mutual connection reflected in the Vedic and the Epic Literature, which had created a sort of unity of interest and purpose in them ; (3) their intimate association with the principal characters and events of the epic and the influence which

1 Cf. Mbh. 1. 5. 3.

2 Cf. Mbh. III. 217–232.

they wielded in revolutionizing the Methods of warfare by the introduction of magical missiles and the Atharvanic rites and chants, (4) the preponderance of the Atharvanic idealogy which is traditionally traced to the Bhrgvaṅgirases, in the important events of the Mahābhārata story, (5) the great enthusiasm for religious reform and preservation of old ideals of the Vedic religion, which they evince, as is seen from the epic, in introducing comparatively easier substitutes for the older complicated sacrificial ritual. (6) the existence in the story of the Mahābhārata War, of three great warriors of the Āngirasa family i e. Drona, Aśvatthāmau and Krpācārya who had figured as leaders of great importance and which must have tempted the Angirases and the Bhrgus of the later days to handle the Mahābhārata story , (7) and lastly, the temptation which the then popular story of the Mahābhārata War must have offered to these heroic Brāhmanas, who could easily foresee with what great advantage the story material could be utilized for the purpose of approaching the masses, who can be regarded as one of the most important elements in the spread and cultivation of a religious system. All these seem to force upon us the one conclusion that is stated at the beginning of this paragraph.

UNPĀNINIAN FORMS AND USAGES IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA [1]

BY

E. D. KULKARNI

1. INDISCRIMINATE USE OF *mā* AND *na* [2]

The study of unpāninian forms in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata is important from different points of view. It is one of the chief expedients adopted by the General Editor for the construction of the critical text, to find out a reading which best explains how the other readings may have arisen. The true reading in this case has often proved to be a *lectio defficilior* or an archaism or a solecism. [3] According to him the conservation of the Ms. is proved by its preserving archaisms—' mechanical corruptions of a faithful copyist—while other Mss. have discarded them in favour of modern forms. [4] These archaisms must necessarily be an original inheritance handed down from generation to generation and used indiscriminately. The General Editor in his Prolegomena puts forth the following querry with regard to these archisms. ' But can we legitimately promise that the original must necessarily have been quite flawless from the point of view of the Pāninian grammar? Is it not at least likely that the supposed solecism may be a genuine *lapsus calami* of the author or that the usage fluctuated ? ' [5]

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[1] Edited by the late lamented *Dr. V S. Sukthankar* and published at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. I owe greatly to *Dr. Sukthankar* for not only giving to me the subject for investigation but also for presenting before me the plan of the treatment of the topic. I have to thank *Dr. S. M. Katre* for helping me at every stage with his guidance.

[2] The paper is based on the Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, Vanaparvan, Virāṭaparvan and Udyogaparvan. It is thus intended to make use of the whole of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.

[3] Prolegomena to the Ādi. XCII.

[4] ibid LV.

[5] ibid LXXVII.

Naturally the study of Unpāṇinian forms in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata falls into several classes according to its nature. It will comprise the following aspects.

(1) Spelling, (2) guna or vrddhi, (3) syllabic haplology, (4) sandhi, (5) change of gender, (6) change of consonantal stem to vowel stem in nouns and adjectives, (7) confusion between different nominal stems, (8) strong base for weak and *vice versa*, (9) noun declension, (10) formation of feminine base (11) declension of pronouns, (12) numerals, (13) confusion of roots, (14) conjugation of roots in different tenses and moods, (15) non-finite forms, (16) participles, (17) voice, (18) simplex and causative, (19) taddhita, (20) compounds, (21) syntax of cases, (22) tautology and word haplology, (23) negative particles, (24) use of tenses and moods, (25) illogicality, (26) concord, (27) use of *ca*, *tu*, *sma*, (28) use of prepositions, (29) historical present and (30) metres. [1]

In the present paper I am taking into account an indiscriminate and irregular use of negative particles *mā* (sometimes *mā sma*) and *na*. The imperative negative or prohibitive, is from the earliest period of the language regularly and usually expressed by the particle *mā* with the augmentless imperfect form prevailingly augmentless aorist. [2] In the second person these tenses with the augment so cut off have the sense of the imperative mood and in the first person and the third it expresses a doubt, translated in English by '*that*' with '*may*' or '*might*' or simply '*may*'. [3] (cf. 4.20.33d mā kīcakavaśam gamam). Not in conformity with this rule regarding the form and the sense, we find many instances of aorist and one of imperfect, all not deprived of augment. Moreover *mā* is used in almost all the tenses and moods, merely as a substitute for *na*. The variants recorded in the brackets with reference to Mss. which always try to correct archaic forms, bear out the truth of the statement.

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[1] The present series will deal individually with these topics. Cf. *Sushila Mehta*, Some Linguistic Peculiarities of the Bhāgavata, Bhāratiya Vidyā 4. 1. 30–40.

[2] *Whitney*, Sanskrit grammar, p. 217.579.

[3] *Apte*, Student's guide to Sanskrit Composition, pp. 137, 211.

The use of *na* also, we find very irregular, doing occasionally duty in the place of *mā* with the aorist. We see at least three instances of *na* with augmented aorist and three with augmentless aorist, all expressing prohibition. Compounds with *mā* and *na* are not wanting and moreover, they are easily interchangeable without any change in meaning. One thing should be noted about these compounds; following the false analogy of combinations like *tad anu* viewed as *tadanu*, perhaps the negative particles are compounded to the adjoining word.[1] Next we find one queer instance in 3.240.2[a] (*akārṣīḥ* T2 G1 *mā kārṣīḥ*) where augmentless aorist form compounded with *a*- as a first member of the compound, is used to indicate prohibition. Lastly we have one big group of instances of optatives with *na* in a prohibitive sense, a new phase appearing in the Vedas and becoming a familiar construction in later literature.[2] The instances in the Mahābhārata are too many to quote and all are prescriptive in character. I have selected only two from each parvan to serve our purpose. Thus we find that the spheres of *mā* and *na* are overlapping.

I *mā* WITH THE PRESENT.

1. 3.133.24[a] *mā sma* te te gṛhe rājañ śātravāṇām api dhruvam । vātasārathir *ūdhatte* ...... ।
2. 3.130.4[d] praviṣṭā pṛthivīṁ vīra *mā* niṣādā hi mām *viduḥ* ।
3. 3.281.24[c] *mā* vai dvitīyaṁ *mā* tṛtīyaṁ ca *vāñcche* ।

II *mā* WITH THE IMPERFECT.

1. 3.153.*13 *mā smāham* kṣatriyakule jātucit punar *ābhavam* ।

III *mā* WITH THE IMPERATIVE.[3]

1. 1.3.65[d] tāv aśvinau muñcato *mā viṣīdatam* ।
   [K1.3 Ñ1 V1 D2 T2 G4-6 M Arjp *viṣīdathaḥ*, T1 G1 °*tha*]

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[1] Cf. *Whitney*, Sanskrit grammar, p. 514, 1314[b].

[2] *Whitney*, Sanskrit grammar, p. 217, 579-80.

[3] *Whitney* gives one instance of *mā* with the imperative and remarks that it is a single instance met with in the older language.

2. 1.3.104 *mā vicāraya* ।
3. 1.36.24[d] *mā* śṛṅgin garvito *bhava* ।
4. 1.605.*7 *mā* maivam *vada* suśroṇi ।
5. 1.610.*4 tathā kuruṣva śāstroktam vivāhaṁ *mā* ciram *kuru* ।
6. 1.612.*7 tām devīṁ punar utthāpya *mā śuca* iti punaḥ punah ।
7. 1.68.25[c] *mā* ātmānam *avamanyathāḥ* ।
8. 1.71.36[a] maivam suco *mā ruda* devayāni ।
[Ś1 K *maivam rodīh* (Ś1 *rudo*, K1 *dado*) M6-8 tan *mā rudo*, B1.6 Da2 D2 3 T1 G6 *rudah*]
9. 1 73 30[a] niskrtir me'stu vā *māstu* ।
10. 1.759.*1 mā socir vrsaparvas tvam *mā krudhyasva* visām pate । (T2 G6 *rudhas tvam*)
11. 1.789.*2 *mā* caināṁ sayane *samāhvaya* ।
12. 187.8[a] prcchāmi tvāṁ *mā prapata* prapātam ।
13. 1.87.10[a] tāms te dadāmi *mā prapata* prapātam ।
(Ko.4 T2 G1.2.6 *prapatah*)
14. 1.87.15[a] tāms te dadāmi *mā prapata* prapātam ।
15. 1.88.3[a] tāms te dadāmi *pata mā* prapātam ।
(TG 1 2 5.7 *prapatah*)
16. 1.1373*.7 *maivam* jīrnam *upāssva* tvam ।
(Ñ1.3 *upāsīḥ*, D5 T2 G4.5 *upāsiṣṭhāh*)
17. 1.131.17[c] *mā* ca vo'*astv* aśubham kimcit ।
18. 1.142.23[a] tvarasva bhīma *mā krīḍa* jahi rakso vibhīsanam ।
(Ko *bhais* tvam, Ñ2 B1 3 *hāsīh*)
19. 1.1578*.2 tasya siddhir iyaṁ prāptā *mā śocata* paramtapāh ।
20. 1.1580*.1 snuse *mā roda mā rodety* evam vyāso'bravīd vacah ।
21. 1.1621*1 *maivam vada* sukalyāni tistha gehe sumadhyame ।
22. 1.158.11[a] ārāt tiṣṭhata *mā* mahyaṁ samīpam *upasarpata* ।
23. 1.165.20[d] yathecchasi tathā ksipraṁ kuru tvam *mā vicāraya* ।
24. 1.1860*.2[b] *mā* simhanādān *kuru* pūrvajeha ।

25. 1.189.5[cd] *mā* vo martyasakāśād vai bhayaṁ *bhavatu* karhicit । [K2 Ñ1 S (G2 om, G3 before corr) *na*]
26. 1.194 12[d] tāvat praharaṇam teṣām kriyatām *mā vicāraya* ।
27. 3.32.3[a] *astu* vātra phalam *mā* vā kartavyaṁ puruṣeṇa yat ।
28. 3.88.27[d] te saṁśayo'*stu mā* ।
(S *mā bhūt* te saṁśayotra vai)
29. 3.559*.1 eṣa te rudra bhāgo vai *mā* no yajñam imam *jahi* ।
29[a]. 3.131.19[cd] *mā* rājan mārgam ājñāya kadalīskandam *āruha* ।
30. 3.141.15[d] padbhir eva gamiṣyāmo *mā* rājan vimanā *bhava* ।
(M1 *hi bhūḥ*, T2 G2-4 tasmāt kim *bhavitā* bhayam)
31. 3.141.16[d] *mā* rājan vimanā *bhava* । (M1 *hi bhūḥ*)
32. 3.141.20[cd] *mā* te glānir mahābāho *mā* ca te'*stu* parābhavah ।
33. 3.824*.3 & 4. ṛjum *paśyata mā* vakraṁ satyam *vadata mā*nṛtam । dīrgham *paśyata mā* hrasvaṁ param *paśyata mā*param ।
34. 3.172.18[a] arjunārjuna *mā yuṅkṣva* divyāny astrāṇi bhārata ।
35. 3.190.34[a] *mā* maṇḍūkāñ *jighāṁsa* tvam ।
(G1.2.4 M1 *jighāṁsīḥ*)
36. 3.218.18[d] tasmād indro bhavān adya bhavitā *mā vicāraya* ।
37. 3.229 28[c] dveṣyaṁ *mā* adyaiva *gacchadhvam* dharmarājaniveśanam । (BD. Dn D4.6 G3 *na*, T1 G2.4 *na*)
38. 3.1118*.1 rakṣaṇīyā mahābāho *mai*vaṁ *vada* mahāmate ।
39. 3.239.7[a] prasīda *mā tyaja* ātmānam । (G1.2.4 M *na*)
40. 3.240.23[c] *mā* viṣādaṁ *nayasva* asmān ।
(Dn D4 6 *gamas*, B4 *na*)
41. 3.1173*.1 tvadadhīnā vayaṁ rājan *mā* tvam asmān *vicāraya* ।
42. 3.251.20[cd] *mai*vam ity abravīt kṛṣṇā *lajjasveti* ca saindhavam । (Do2 *na lajjasveti* ; B4 *lajjase na*)

43. 3.252.22[c] provāca mā *mā spṛśateti* bhītā ।
44. 3.263.32[a] *mā niṣīda* naravyāghra । (T G1,2.4 *viṣādam*)
45. 3.264.58[a] *mā* ca te' *stu* bhayam bhīru rāvaṇāl loka-garhitāt । [S (except T2 G3 *bhūt*)]
46. 3.281.106[d] yathāgataṁ śubhe gaccha panthānam *mā vicāraya* । (T2 G2.4 *avicāraya*)
47. 3.292.11[b] śivās te *santu* panthāno *mā* ca te paripanthinaḥ ।
48. 4.13.17[a] *mā* sūtaputra *hṛṣyasva* mādya tyakṣyasi jīvitam ।
49. 4.358*.1 śaraṇam bhava kaunteya *mā saṁgaccha* yudhiṣṭhiram ।
50. 4.20.4[e] *mā* dharmam *jahi* suśroni krodham jahi mahāmate ।
51. 4.482*.3 *mā paśyata smeti* ca tām bruvantaḥ ।
52. 4.592*.1 mā grahīs tvam imam vṛksam simhanādam ca *mā kuru* ।
53. 4.668*.1 mā *mā gṛhāna* bhadram te dāso'haṁ te bṛhannale ।
54. 4.1027*.9 *mā* mānabhangam viprendra *kuru* visrutakarmanaḥ ।
55. 4.1132*.8 tasmān *mā* vismayas te' *stu* ।
56. 5.9.29[d] kurusvaitad yathoktam me takṣan *mā* tvam *vicāraya* । [K (except K2) D10 *vilambithāḥ*]
57. 5.29.47[c] *mā* vanam *chindhi* savyāghram mā vyāghrān nīnaśo vanāt ।[1]
58. 5.36.30[ab] *mā* naḥ kule vairakṛt kaścid *astu* rājāmātyo *mā* parasvāpahārī । [D1 *na* (for the second *mā*)]
59. 5.37.41[c] *mā* vanam *chindhi* savyāghram mā vyāghrān nīnaśo vanāt ।
60. 5.54.40[d] *mā* rājan vimanā *bhava* ।
61. 5.67.19[c] buddhiś ca *mā* te *cyavatu* ।
62. 5.469*.1 sa bhavān suhrdo vaśyaṁ vaco *gṛhṇātu mānṛtam* ।
63. 5.131.7[b] uttiṣṭha he kāpurusa *mā śeṣvaivam* parājitaḥ ।

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[1] *Dr. Speijer*, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 318, 405. when subjoined to some chief sentence *mā* admits of being translated by '*lest*'.

64. 5.131.11[d] uttiṣṭha he kāpuruṣa *mā śeṣvaivaṁ* parājitaḥ ।
(K4 B Dn Ds D6-8.10 *mā svāpsīḥ*)
65. 5.131.29[a] *mā* dhūmāya *jvala* ।
66. 5.132.7[d] anvarthanāmā *bhava* me putra *mā* vyarthanāmakaḥ । [D9 T2 G (except G4) *na*]
67. 5.132.11[d] evaṁ vidvān yuddhyamanā bhava *mā pratyupāhara* । [Ds D2 G2 Cd.s *pratyavāharaḥ*; B (except B 3) Dn2 D3.4.6 T2 Ca.n *°harah*]
68. 5.145.27[d] tvayi jīvati *mā* rāṣṭraṁ vināśam *upagacchatu* ।
69. 5.156.13[d] *mā* vimanā *bhava* ।
70. 5.172.8[c] *maivam vada* mahīpāla naitad evaṁ kathaṁcana । [K3.4 B (except B2) Dn1 D6.8 *na* ; K1.2.5 D1.2 *vādīḥ*]
71. 5.178.22[c] *prasīda mā* vā ।[1]
72. 5.179.24[a] *mā* maivam putra nirbandham *kuru* viprena pārthiva ।

IV. *mā* WITH THE CAUSAL IMPERATIVE

1. 1.116 23[d] *mā* mām mādri *nivartaya* (T1 G2 6 mā mādri *na*)
2. 1.1562,*1 viśeṣato matsakāśe *mā prakāśaya* nīcatām ।
3. 1.1860.*2[c] *mā* ghoratāṁ *darśaya* śatrumadhye ।
4. 1.223.18[d] śivas trātā bhava asmākam *mā* asmān adya *vināśaya* ।(Ñ1 *na*)
5. 3.23.22[ab] jahi śālvam mahābāho *mainam jīvaya* keśava ।
6. 3.134.3[a] vyāghraṁ śayānam prati *mā prabodhaya* ।
´(M2 *bubodhīḥ*)
7. 3.239.5[cd] *mā* kṛtam śobhanam pārthaiḥ śokam ālambya *nāśaya* ।
8. 4.670*.1. mā *mā māraya* bhadram te muñca māmemi me gṛham ।
9. 5.145.33[b] viśesatas tvadarthaṁ ca dhuri *mā* mām *niyojaya* ।
10. 5.146.22[d] citrakāra ivālekhyaṁ kṛtvā *mā sma vināśaya* ।
11. 5. 186. 3[d] te tvāṁ nivārayanty adya prasvāpaṁ *mā prayojaya* ।(S *prayūyujaḥ*)

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[1] ibid. 318, 405. *mā* with the imperative, expresses *doubt* or *certainty*.

V. *mā* WITH THE PASSIVE IMPERATIVE

1. 3. 190. 46 *mā kriyatām* anubandhaḥ ।
[B3.4 D (except D1-3) G3 M1 *na*]
2. 3. 239. 12f naiva bhogaiś ca me kāryaṁ *mā vihanyata* gacchata ।
3. 5. 116. 6cd yadi śakyam mahārāja kriyatām *mā vicāryatām* ।
(Dn Ds D1.6.8 *avicāritaṁ* ; T G1.3-5 M *mā vicāraṇā*)

VI. *mā* WITH THE POTENTIAL[1]

1. 1.26.11c *mā* tvā *daheyuḥ* saṁkruddhā vālakhilyā marīcipāḥ । (Ñ3 G1-3 M1 *na*)
2. 1.78.37d prasādaṁ kuru me brahmaṇ jareyam *mā viśeta* mām । [K0.1.3 4 B3 *nāviśeta*, ÑB1.4-6 D (except D2.5) T1 G1.2 *na viśeta*, K2 *nāviśet*]
3. 1.141.21d *mā* śabdaḥ sukhasuptānām bhrātṛṇām me *bhaved* iti । [B (except B5) Da D2 4 *samabhūt*]
4. 1.183.9c *mā* vo *vidyuḥ* pārthivāḥ kecaneha ।
5. 3.38.21b *mā*smākam kṣatriyakule janma kaścid *avāpnuyāt* ।
6. 3.139.13d eṣa te brahmahā yajñaṁ *mā* draṣṭum *praviśed* iti । (T1 *na*)
7. 3.708*.3 anena vai pathā *mā* vai *gacched* iti vicārya saḥ । (D0 *na*)
8. 3.147.40cd *dharṣayed* vā *śaped* vāpi *mā* kaścid iti bhārata ।
9. 3.183.12c *mai*vaṁ atre punar *brūyāḥ* (B1.3.4 *na*)
10. 3.221.40d kurudhvam vikrame buddhim *mā* vaḥ kaścid vyathā *bhavet* । (D0 *na*)
11. 3.282 32b sarveṣām eva bhavatām saṁtāpo *mā bhaved* iti । (D3 *na*)
12. 3.285.10c *mā* asmai te kuṇḍale *dadyā* bhikṣave vajrapāṇaye । (K D0 D1-3.5 *dāḥ*)
13. 4.16.1 *mā* viṣāde manaḥ *kuryād* ।
14. 4.296*.2 tena satyena māṁ dṛṣṭvā kīcako *mā* vaśaṁ *nayet* ।

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[1] *Whitney*, Sanskrit Grammar, p. 217, 579, 579b. A single instance *bhujema* used prohibitively with *mā* in RV.

15. 4.358*.3 *mā sma* sīmantinī kācij *janayet* putram īdṛśam ।
16. 4.32.18[c] *mā* tvā vṛksena karmāṇi kurvāṇam atimānuṣam । janāḥ *samavabudhyeran* bhīmo'yam iti bhārata । (D2 *na*)
17. 4.1040*.1 *mā* te svako'rtho *nipateta* mohāt ।
18. 4.64.5[d] *mā* tvā brahmaviṣaṁ ghoram samūlaṁ api *nirdahet* ।
19. 4.1144*.61 yac ca vakṣyāmi te sarvaṁ *mā śaṅkethāḥ* yudhiṣṭhira ।
20. 5. 9. 7[d] viṣādam agamac chakra indro'yaṁ *mā bhaved* iti ।
21. 5. 16. 26[b] *mā* tvaṁ *puṣyer* nahuṣam vai kadācit ।
22. 5. 40. 17[d] budhyasva *mā* tvam *pralabheta* rājan ।
23. 5. 93. 3[?] *mā* te dharmas tathaivārtho *naśyeta* bharatarṣabha । (K1 D2-4 *na*)
24. 5, 94. 34[b] anujñātaḥ svasti gaccha *maivam* bhūyaḥ *samācareḥ* ।
25. 5. 433*. 1 *mā sma* bhūyaḥ *kṣipeḥ* kaṁcid ।
26. 5. 131. 28[cd] *mā sma* sīmantinī kācij *janayet* putram īdṛśam ।
27. 5. 13?. 30[c] *mā* tvā *paśyet* sukṛpaṇam śatruḥ śrīmān kadācana । (T2 G° *na*)

VII. *mā* WITH THE CAUSAL POTENTIAL

1. 1. 46. 40[d] dvijasya yo'dadad dravyam *mā* nṛpam *jīvayed* iti । (T G6 M1.5 *na*)
2. 5. 72. 1[d] *mā sma* yuddhena *bhīṣayeḥ* ।

VIII. *mā* WITH THE AUGMENTED AORIST[1]

1. 1. 33. 7[d] *mā* naḥ kālo'*tyagād* ayam ।
2. 1. 97. 24[b] *mā* naḥ sarvān *vyanīnaśaḥ* । (Ś1 *vinenaśaḥ* ; K1 M6 *vinīnaśaḥ*)

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[1] Ibid. 579, 579e. He quotes three instances from the older language *vyāpaptat* (ṚV) ; *agās* (TA) ; *anaśat* (KS).

Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, *mā śaṅkiḥ* 4. 13. 36d, *mā anvagāḥ* 4. 30. 81[cd] Nearly all types of linguistic peculiarities discussed in this paper are seen in Rāmāyaṇa ; e. g. *mā vada* 6. 113. 38[c] ; *mā kṣapayasva* 7. 20. 11[d] ; *mā kuryāḥ* 7. 40. 11[ab] ; *mā gamiṣyāma* 7. 35. 63[ef] ; *mā ciram* 6. 114. 7[d] ; *nātidūre* 4. 27. 11[c] *naikāḥ* 6. 111. 64[d] ; etc. etc.

3. 1. 122. 6[a] *maivam* jīrnam *upāsiṣṭhāh* (K4 *na* ; G1.3. 4. 6 *na*; Ñ1 B3 *upāsis tvam*),
4. 1. 147. 16[b] *mā* tvām kālo' *tyagād* ayam ।
(B1 *atigāt*, K1 *abhigāt*)
5. 8. 23. 24[d] *mā* tvām kālo'*tyagāt* punah ।
6. 3. 35. 2[c] tan'*mā* śathah kitavah *pratyadevīt* ।
7. 3. 125. 10[d] maivam *mā paryaśaṅkiṭhāh* । (Do *na*)
8. 3. 205. 8[d] *mā* tvā dharmo' *tyagān* mahān । (G4 *atigāt*)
9. 3. 253. 20[f] *mā* vah kālah ksipram iha *atyagād* vai ।
(K3. 4 *atigāt*)
10. 3. 253. 21[b] *mā* asmatsakāśe parusāny *avocah* ।
(K1. 4 M1 *vācah*)
11. 4. 13. 18[d] te tvām nihanyuh kupitāh sādhv alam *mā vyanīnaśah* । (CS1 Cr *vinīnaśah*)
12. 4. 15. 39[a] kīcako *māvadhīt* tatra surāhārīm gatām tava (B4 *mā vadhīt*)
13. 4.221*.1 evam nivasamānāyām mayi *mā* te bhayam hy *abhūt* ।
14. 5.20.21[d] *mā* vah kālo' *tyagād* ayam ।
15. 5 93.52[d] *mā* manyuvaśam *anvagāh* ।
16. 5.122.31[d] *mā* manyuvśam *anvagāḥ* ।
17. 5.122.58[b] *mā parābhūt* idam kulam ।
18. 5.125.2[d] *mā* manyuvaśam *anvagāḥ* ।
19. 5.172 7[f] *mā* te kālo' *tyagād* ayam ।

IX *mā* WITH THE PERFECT

1. 4.30.7[f] tān parīpsa manuṣyendra *mā neśuḥ* paśavas tava । (G 1 2 *mā naśyat*, M *mā naśyan*)

X *mā* WITH THE FUTURE[1]

1 1.26.11[b] putra mā sāhasaṁ kārsīr *mā* sadyo *lapsyase* vyathām ।
2. 1.119.8[c] *mā drakṣyasi* kulasyāsya ghoraṁ saṁkṣayam ātmanah [Ñ1 2 BD (except D5) *drākṣīs* tvam]
3. 3.114.8[c] *mā* parasvam *abhidrogdhā* mā dharmān sakalān naśīḥ ।

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[1] *Dr. Speijer*, Sanskrit Syntax, p. 247. 353 R 4.

4. 3.720*.1 *mā* vṛthā *prāpsyase* vadham ।
5. 3.147.5[d] *mā* tvaṁ *prāpsyasi* vaiśasam ।
6. 3.147.6[d] *mā* tvaṁ *prāpsyasi* vaiśasam ।
7. 3.147.14[d] *mā* tvā *neṣye* yamakṣayam ।
8. 3.238.35[f] dhṛtiṁ gṛhṇīta *mā* śatrūñ śocantau *nandayiṣyathaḥ* ।
9. 4.13.17[a] *mādya* *tyakṣyasi* jīvitam । (D6 *mā atyatyākṣīt*)
10. 4.303*.8 *mā* *gamiṣyasi* durbuddhe gatiṁ durgāntarāntaram । (G1 *na āgamiṣyati*)

XI *mā* WITH THE AUGMENTLESS CONDITION

1. 3.237.7[c] parāmarśo *mā bhaviṣyat* kurudāreṣu sarvadā ।
(K3 TG2 M1 *nābhaviṣyat*)

XII *mā* WITH THE BENEDICTIVE

1. 5.103,30[c] *mai'vaṁ* *bhūya* iti snehāt tadā cainam uvāca ha (K1 B5 D8 G1 Ca.d *bhūyāḥ*)

XIII *mā* WITHOUT VERBS

1. 1.2.186[a] *maivam* ity abravīt kṛṣṇaḥ śamayaṁs tasya tad vacaḥ ।
2. 1.1176*.1 aprajātvam manuṣyendra *sādhu mā* puṣkarekṣaṇa ।
3. 1.169.7[a] *mā* tāta tāta tāteti na te tāta mahāmuniḥ ।
4. 3.104.22[d] *mā* te buddhir ato'*nyathā* ।
(D3.5 *mā* te *bhūd* buddhir anyathā ।
5. 3.109.9[a] vātam cāhūya *mā śabdaṁ* ity uvāca sa tāpasaḥ ।
[S (except T2 G3) *mā śabda*]
6. 3.140.15[b] kṛṣṇāṁ sarve rakṣata *mā pramādam* ।
7. 3.152.12[c] *mā* *maivam* iti sakrodhair bhartsayadbhiḥ samantataḥ ।
8. 3.178.49[c] *maivam* ity abruvan bhīmam । (B3.4 *naivam*)
9. 3.193.20[b] *mā* te buddhir ato'*nyathā* ।
(Ś1 K D1.2.5 *mā* te *bhūd* buddhir anyathā)
10. 3.1003*.1 *mā sma* kruddha balākeva ।
11. 3.1109*.1 sāmnaiva tatra vikrāntā *mā sāhasam* iti prabho ।
12. 3.262.35[d] *maivam* ity abravīd vacaḥ ।
13. 3.266.11[d] *mā ciram* । (also 1.1.161[b])

14. 5.143.12c sūtaputra iti *mā śabdaḥ* **pārthas tvam asi** vīryavān ।
15. 5.166.25d *mā sma* taiḥ saha saṃgamaḥ ।
16. 5.582*.4 *mā rāmety* abruvan vacaḥ ।

XIV. COMPOUND WITH *mā*

1 *mācıram*-1.18 2d; 1.41.10d, 1.198 24b; 1.1985.*4; **1.209.17d** ; 1.2140*.1 ; 3.59*.4 ; 3.52.8d ; 3.68.16d ; 3.122.15f ; **3.185.45d** ; 3 215 13d ; 3.232 6d ; 3.221.27d ; **3.235.15d** ; **3.241.35d** ; 3.247.36d ; 3.1245*.1 : 3.281.98b ; 4.42.31d (D1.3 *vācirāt*); 4 186.*4 ; 5.22.*1 : 5.9.10d ; 5 10.13d , 5.33.1d ; **5.97.20d** ; 5 102 7b ; 5.104.26d ; 5.105 19d ; 5.177.5d (T2 G *mā cıram*); 5.178.22d ; 5.192 23d :
2. *mācırāt* – 1.1976 *1.
3. *mādīrgham* – 4.20.13a.

I. *na* WITH THE AUGMENTED AORIST

1. 5.30.3b *na* no'*kārṣīh* ।
2. 5.89.13d *na agrahīh* ।
3. 5.39 21d *na amaṃsthāh* ।

II. *na* WITH THE AUGMENTLESS AORIST

1. 3.31.9ab *nāvmaṃsthā* hi sadrśāñ śreyaśaḥ kutaḥ ।
2. 3.134.27ab agnir dahañ jātavedāh satām grhān visarjayaṃs tejasā *na sma dhākṣīt* । (D3, *mā* ; TG1.3.4 *adhākṣīt* ; G2 *vyadhā*°)
1. 5.35.30b *na* kāmād anrtam *vadīh* ।

III. COMPOUND WITH *na* [1]

1. *nākasmāt* – 3.282.29c (K1.2 Do D2 TG1.2.4 *na kasmāt*).
2. *nāgasam* – 1.71.39b [K (except K3) ÑBDa Dn D1.2.4.5 *āgatān* D3 S *anāgasaṃ*].
3. *nātıkrcchrāt* – 1.27.7d ; 1.119.17d
4 *nātikovıdam* – 4.38.1d (S *akovidam*).

[1] It is interesting to note that the etymological formation of two personal names namely, *nakula* (4 167 *1) and *saramā* (Rāmāyaṇa 7. 12. 27) is made by being compounded with *na* and *mā* respectively. For this, see my paper on 'Epic Etymologies' which will be shortly published.

5. *nātigāḍham* – 4.120*.51
6. *nāticaran* – 1.110.13ᶜ (T2G1.2.4 *nābhi* (G4 *oti*) *caret* ; G3 *nāticare* ; M6-8 *nāticaret* ; Ś1 *na vicaran* ; Ko *avicaran* ; K2 B1m D (except Dn D1.4) *api caran* ; Dn D4 *avicaran* ; K3 Ñ2.3 B1.3.5 *api caran* ; K4 B6 *abhi* (B6 °*vi*) *caraḥ* ; M3 *api care*]
7. *nāticiram* – 1.145.2ᶜ [TG (G6 om) *suciram*] ; 3.153 31ᶜ.
8. *nāticirāt* – 3.290.2ᵈ
8ᵃ. *nātidīrgham* – 3.76.19ᵈ
8ᵇ. *nātidīrgheṇa* – 3.106.7ᵃ
9. *nātidūram* – 4.36.4ᵃ
10. *nātidūrāt* – 1.817*.1
11. *nātidūre* – 1.138.30ᵃ ; 3.154.21ᵃ
11ᵃ. *nātidhaninaḥ* – 3.97.10ᵃ
12. *nātiprajñaḥ* – 5.110.20ᵃ
13. *nātipraṇītaraśmiḥ* – 5.75.14ᵃ
14. *nātiprītamanāḥ* – 1.1.93ᵃ ; 4.262*.2
14ᵃ. *nātibahuśrutāḥ* – 3.198.54ᵈ
15. *nātibhāraḥ* – 1.55.36ᵃ
16. *nātimanasam* – 5.178.9ᵃ [K2.4 5 BD (except D1.2.7) *vai vimanasam*]
17. *nātimahān* – 1.35.3ᵃ [M2.3 (inf. lin. as in text). 4 *atīva mahān*]
18. *nātimahat* – 1.135.17ᵇ [Ko.2 *nāpi mahat* ; K3.4 *nātha mahat*]
19. *nātimahatā* – 1.26.20ᶜ ; 1.852*.3 ; 5.7.3ᶜ [K1 2 D1 *atimahatā* ; D2.9 *mahatā*]
20. *nātimahataḥ* – 1.81.3ᶜ (K3 Dn1m *cātimahatā*)
21. *nātimānaḥ* – 3.198.87ᶜ (Ś1 K1 2 Dc1 D4 6 G3 *anabhimānaḥ* B Dc2 Dn *nābhimānaḥ*)
22. *nātiyatnena* – 3.20.11
23. *nātivelam* – 4.917*.22
24. *nātisvasthā* – 3.214*.1
25. *nātihṛṣṭamanāḥ* – 1.51.18ᶜ ; 3.8.13ᶜ
26. *nātihṛṣṭāntarātmā* – 1.51.3ᶜ
27. *nātihrasvā* – 1.61.96ᵃ [M (except M5) *na hrasvā*]
28. *nātyantam* – 1.1.185ᶜ (Cd *atyantam*)
29. *nātyuṣṇaśiśiraḥ* – 5.140.17ᵈ
30 *nābhāgariṣṭadaśamān* – 1.70.14ᶜ (D3 TG *tathaivāriṣṭa*° ; M *tathaiva diṣṭa*°)

31. *nābhāgekṣvākum* – 1.70.13[b]
32. *nāryakarma* – 5.74.6[a]
33. *nālpam* – 4.19.28[a]
34. *nāvarah* – 4.43.8[d] (K2 D2-4 Cc *avaraḥ*)
34[a] *nāvarām* – 3.31.9[b]
35. *nāstikah* – 5.35.40[d] ; 5 137.7[b] (G2 *krodhano*)
36. *nāstikāh* – 3 181.20[f] ; 3.898*.1 ; 3.188.22[c] ; 3.247.3[c]
37. *nāstikān* – 3.198.66[a]
38. *nastike* – 1.664* 1 ; 5.39.59[d]
39. *nāstikesu* – 5.39.48[b]
40. *bhrśanāstikāh* – 3.923*.1
41. *nāstikyam* · 3.32.1[d] ; 3.32 38[d] ;
42. *nāstikyāt* – 3.32.5[d]
43. *necchamānāh* – 1.1629*.2
44. *naikah* – 5 38 24[d]
45. *naikān* – 3.61.104[a] (Ś1 D2 4 *ekān* ; G4 *ekam*) 3.61.104[c];
3.61.104[d] (D1 *anekān*)
46. *naikāh* – 3.61.104[b] (Ś1 *ekāh* ; D1 *anekāḥ*)
47. *naikasya* – 3.149.16[c] (S1 K D1-3 5 *aparyāptas tavaikasya*;
T1 G2 *na caivaikasya* M *tavaikasya*)
48. *naikadhā* – 3.12.48[b]
49. *naika*pakṣigaṇākīrṇām – 1.64 18[c]
50. *naika*ratnavicitram – 5.58.6[a]
51. *naika*rūpiṇah – 5.97.8[b] (K1.2.5 B1.3 D1.5.8.10 G1 4
aneka°)
52. *naika*śatāh – 5.134.9[a] (K4 *aneka°* ; B3 D1-4 *eka°*)
53. *nogram* – 5.72.19[d] (G1 *krūram na*)
54. *nodvignāh* – 5.82.17[c]
55. *nakuśalam* – 5.88.56[d] (K1 *akuśalam*)
56. *nagṛhaḥ* – 1.86.5[a] (K2 *agrhah* ; S *na gṛhasthah*)
57. *naciram* – 4.35.4[a] (B1.2 D8 *nāciram*)
58. *nacireṇa* – 3.163.13c (K4 T2 G3.4 *acireṇa*)
4.177*.2 (K B3.4 D1-3.5-8.10 *acireṇa* ; Do *aticireṇa*)
59. *nacirāt* – 1.3.130 (D2-5 G3 M1 *acirāt*); 1.11.10[d] ;
1.20.1[d] ; 1.1389*.1 ; 3.66.22[a] ; 3.92.9[d] ; 3.92 22[c] ; 4 55.12[b] ;
5.11.21[f] ; 5.35.54[d] ; 5.38.26[d] ; 5 38.44[b] (K1.5 B3.4 D3.4.8
acirāt) 5.101.24[c] (S *acirāt*); 5.122.24[d] ; 5.126.29[d]
5.160.16[c] (K4 B Dn1 Ds D1.3.6-8.10 G1 *acirāt*) 5.192.27[b]
60. *naduṣṭāḥ* – 4.72*.1 (B3 *na duṣṭāśvā* ; D3 *aduṣṭāś ca* ;
4.72*.2 (B2.4 D2.10 *aduṣṭāḥ* ; D3 *na ca duṣṭā* ;) 4.74*.2.

61. *nadūrayātā* – 3.253.16[d] (Ś1 *adūra°* ; T2 G1.2.4 *na dūrayātā*) ;
62. *nabhūtapūrvaḥ* – 1.182.5[d] (M6-8 *abhūta*pūrvaḥ)
63. *namantravid* – 5.38.3[b] (K1 M1.3-5 *nāmantravat* K2.4.5 M1.8 M2 *nāmantravit*) ;
64. *namohitau* – 5.111.3[d] (K4 BDn *anumohitau* ; D3.4.9 *samāhitau* ; S *samāhitau*)
65. *nasamam* – 3.19.10[c] ; 3.237.3[c] ;
66. *nasukaram* – 3.13.103[d] (T G2.4 M1.2 *asukaram*)
67. *nasvasthā* – 3.51.1[c] (G1 *asvasthā*)
68. *nasvasthām* – 3.51.5[c] (K2.3 B2-4 D2 3.4.6 DnTG1-4 M1 *asvasthām*)
69. *nasyota* – 3.31.25[b]
70. *nahatam* – 3 22.7[d] (M2 *anihatam*)

IV. *na* WITH THE POTENTIAL [1]

1. 1.47.16[c] ksattāram *neha* me kaścit ajñātaḥ *praviśed* iti ।
2. 1.132.12[a] yathā ca tvām *na śaṅkeran* parīkṣanto'pi pāṇḍavāḥ ।
3. 3.184.13[ab] *na* cāśucir *nāpy* anirniktapāṇir *nā*brahmavij *juhuyān nā*vipaścit ।
4. 3.203.45 *na hiṁsyāt* sarvabhūtāni maitrāyaṇagataś caret । *neda*ṁ jīvitam āsādya vairam *kurvīta* kenacit ।
5. 4.32.12[d] *na gacched* dviṣatām vaśam ।
6. 4.42.6[a] lobhād vā te *na jānīyuḥ* ।
7. 5.10.24[d] tasmāt santaṁ *na jighāṁseta* dhīraḥ ।
8. 5.24.8[c] *na* kāmārtham *saṁtyajeyur* hi dharmam ।

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[1] *Whitney*, Sanskrit grammar, p. 217, 579. 580. He quotes the following instances from vedic literature. *na riṣyema* (RV) *na cātisṛjen na juhuyāt* (AV) ; *na kuryāt* (ŚB) *na divā śayīta* (SGS).

MISCELLANEA

In A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XXI pp. 280-284, Prof. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., has written some notes on the Mahābhārata. One or two subjects in them, which appeared to me to be calling for further elucidation, were referred to Vyākaranācārya Vinayak S. Tillu, Dharma Shastri, Professor in Sanskrit Maha Vidyalaya, Indore 'and I have pleasure in giving a gist of his remarks together with my speculations.

In his note on द्वैय and वैयाघ्र, Prof. Agrawala refers to गव्यकोश (mentioned in Mahā. Virāt. Parvan 38-40-55 verses 57-58). Now the word गव्य in the sense of "गोर्विकार" is both masculine and feminine gender, Considering that the cow is held in such high esteem, as a holy animal, it is a question whether its skin was utilised as a covering for a scabbord? Possibly the leather of a bull was meant, as probably it is tougher than that of a cow. This question deserves still further elucidation.

The same Professor quotes Patañjali as follows :—

यावक्रीतिक· प्रैयंगविकः न्यायगातिकः ।

(Ed. Kielhorn, Vol. II. p. 284) and observes that while the first and the last Ākhyānas or stories are well-known, the middle one is now not found to exist in any book. Subandhu's Vasavdatta mentions a wife of Vasavadatta named प्रियङ्गुश्यामा. Does Patañjali refer to this reference which may have been detailed in the original work of गुणाढ्य, which was probably available to Patañjali, he being nearer the time of the former?

M. V. Kibe

AN INTERNAL EVIDENCE AS REGARDS THE AGE OF THE BHAGVADGĪTĀ

Embedded in the 9th chapter, which is held to be of राजविद्या and राजगुह्य, thus according to the ancients, comparatively at least, and tradition of some standing, the most important chapter in this great work, are the following lines

स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यांति परां गतिम् ॥
किं पुनर्ब्राह्मणाः पुण्या भक्ता राजर्षयस्तथा ।

In a paper read by me before the 6th Oriental Conference held at Patna in December 1930, and published in its proceedings, I had tried to give a ground for holding that the Gītā was post Buddhist. To my mind the hemistiches quoted above support the same theory.

These lines are not foreign or redundant to the context and therefore, cannot be called to be interpolations. They quite fit in where they are and therefore must be held to be a part of the argument of the original work.

These two lines make a distinction between the two classes, one पापयोनय: (unholy ones) and the other called in contrast as पुण्या: (holy ones), and in the former category are culled women, merchants and servants, i. e. besides women, are included the last two of the four castes, as belonging to the पाप division. Brahmans are put in the holy पुण्य division, while of the warrior caste people, those who are devotees are alone included.

There was no such distinction in pre-Buddha time. Even among the teachers, which is the main quality of Brahmans, are found women as well as members of the four castes. It is not necessary to quote instances, since there is no dispute about this fact. It was only after the Buddha that his preachings appealed more closely to Vaiśyas, Śūdras and women and some Kṣatriyas and those are exactly the categories of the human beings or society who are relegated to the unholy (पाप) division. The qualification of being a भक्त (devotee) in the case of a Kṣatriya, is also remarkable and supports the idea since no such qualification is required in the case of a Brahman, be-

cause among the followers of the Buddha there were only a few such. It is also well-known that even the delayed and reluctant admission of women by Gautama, the Buddha in the Saṅghas, introduced immorality and eventually were a strong factor in their deterioration and fall from the high ideals, by, for instance, the introduction of idol worship, which appeals to women most. These circumstances must have been a strong reason for including women, among पापयोनय:

Had the Gītā been, at least in its present form, pre-Buddhist, no such distinction among the followers of the Vaidik or Brahmanic religion can be conceived. The alluring inducement to these पापयोनय: to follow the teaching of the Gītā points to the same thing.

M. V. Kibe

THE SANCTION BEHIND THE TEACHING OF THE BHAGVADGĪTĀ

In order to make the Bhagvadgītā a bulwark against the different philosophies prevailing after the spread of Buddhism in India, several hands appear to have made attempts to strengthen the shape given to it for the purpose. The attempt has immensely succeeded as can be judged from the fact of the existence of numerous and continuous commentaries on it, to elucidate its meaning and also from the fact that it destroyed the teaching of the Buddha and made clear the way for the establishment of the reformed Vedic religion, which became not only more popular, by becoming less ritualistic and which assumed a shape, which catered for all classes and more or less developed intellect of the common people.

Besides those, who have been commenting by way of explanation and expatiation, upon the entire Gītā, several critics have come forward to dissect its body in order to find the main argument of the work by discarding what appear to them to be incongruous, contradictory or extraneous matter and thus giving it a reasonable shape, according to the view held by an individual

critic. Undoubtedly the lead in this direction has been taken by Western Scholars, but there have been Indians, who mostly led by the anxiety to fit in the work in the surrounding in which it is set, viz; the atmosphere of the Mahābhārata war, have shortened it to seven or confine it to about seventy, stanzas.

But perhaps the most withering and scattering criticism to which work has been subjected is by the Latent Light Culture of Tinneveli. But they having made it confidential. it is not possible to do anything more than allude to it, so that if and when the veil put upon it is removed, the whole teaching may be availed of. Mention of it is simply made to show that the process of the examination of the text of the Bhagvadgītā is not yet over, but it is possible to put in new stanzas so as to bring out of it the meaning that, according to the critic; may be a complete whole and not discursive.

The text sponsored by the Shuddha Dharma Mahā Mandal, which has its head-quarters at Madras, is already before the public. About it, however, it is to be remarked that instead of helping to reduce the mass of doctrine, or doctrines, it has introduced the new element of sectarian worship in it by including additional of matter from other parts of Mahābhārata.

It is, however, not much hazardous to point out the main argument of the Gītā in a couple of stanzas, the rest being but an attempt to expand the theme in an understandable way to the less erudite and to those common people whose intellecual acumen is of the average kind.

In chapter 2, the second line of the stanza 37 is as follows :--

तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥

Therefore Kaunteya - an affectionate name of Arjuna - making resolve to fight, get up.

(It should be re-called here that Arjuna had sat down dejected, in the hind portion of the chariot).

Obviously the argument referred to by "Therefore" is in the portion preceding this part.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa opens his discourse as follows :—

अशोच्यानन्वशोचस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।
गतासूनगतासूंश्च नानुशोचंति पंडिताः ॥
न त्वेवाहं जातु नासं न त्वं नेमे जनाधिपाः ।
न चैव न भविष्यामः सर्वे वयमतः परम् ॥

You are lamenting for those, for whom you should not lament, and yet talk about knowledge. Knowers do not lament (whether the dead or the not dead). It is not that I was not in the past, neither that you and those rulers of men were not so, nor shall we be existing in the future

The three stanzas that follow

देहिनोऽस्मिन्यथा देहे कौमारं यौवनं जरा ।
तथा देहांतरप्राप्तिर्धीरस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥
मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौंतेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।
आगमापायिनोऽनित्यास्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत ॥
यं हि न व्यथयंत्येते पुरुषं पुरुषर्षभ ।
समदुःखसुखं धीरं सोऽमृतत्वाय कल्पते ॥

are an argument to show the utter unreality of the outer phenomena.

The stanza that follows clinches the argument.

नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ।
उभयोरपि दृष्टोऽतस्त्वनयोस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥

What does not exist cannot be taken to exist, nor what is real can be said· to be non-existent. Knowers have seen the truth contained in this statement.

Thus in a nut-shell is given the Māyāvāda, so ably expanded by Śaṁkarācārya. There is unreality in the phenomena, as people have been, are and will be in existence under it. All this is obvious and therefore unreal. But there is something real behind it, which the philosophers alone know or realise. Common people like Arjuna should do what appears to bet heir duty, irrespective of the fruits of labour. They must learn to labour and no more.

M. V. Kibe

REVIEWS

ŚRĪMADBHAGAVADGĪTĀ with SARVATOBHADRĀ of RĀJĀNAKA RĀMAKAṆṬHA, Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., Ph.D., being *Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 14*, University of Madras, 1941, Price Rs. 5-4-0.

RĀJĀNAKA RĀMAKAṆṬHA'S commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* was first brought to the notice of scholars by Dr. F. OTTO SCHRADER in his well-known brochure on *The Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā*, Stuttgart, 1930. The commentary is based on the Kashmir version of the Poem, and is fairly extensive and important. Mr. S. N. TADPATRIKAR, M A., of the B. O. R. Institute has also edited for *The Anandashram Sanskrit Series* the same commentary, which was published in 1939. The present edition, although undertaken earlier than TADPATRIKAR'S edition, appeared two years later; but it is a much more reliable and pains-taking work than the former. The edition contains, besides a valuable Introduction of over 80 pages (wherein excerpts from the most important but fragmentary commentary of BHĀSKARA on the *BG* are for the first time brought to the notice of scholars), an Index of Ardhas or half-stanzas and an Index of Citations. There is a short Foreword contributed by Dr. C KUNHAN RAJA, the Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the University of Madras.

The controversy as to whether the Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā is an earlier pre-Śaṁkara form of the Poem has already called forth extensive controversial literature into existence.[1] The discovery of BHĀSKARA'S commentary sheds a welcome light on the subject. ABHINAVAGUPTA quotes[2] with respect BHĀSKARA'S commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*. Presumably, on the dictum '*Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*,' that commentary is identical with the one fragments of which have been now brought to light. Dr. CHINTAMANI has made it very probable by means of adequate extracts that the author of the fragments is the same as the Vedāntin who

[1] See my Introduction to the edition of the *BG.* with the *Ānandavardhinī*, pp. 16 ff., where a few references to earlier literature on the subject are given.

[2] Apud xviii. 2—अत्र चाध्याये यदवशिष्टं वक्तव्यमस्ति, तत् प्राक्तनैरेव तत्रभवद्भट्टभास्करादिभिर्विनत्य विसृष्टम् etc.

mercilessly criticises Śaṁkara *Māyāvāda* in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedāntasūtras*. Hence if ŚAṀKARA is known to BHĀSKARA, he must be *ipso facto* known to ABHINAVAGUPTA; and even if the BHĀSKARA known to ABHINAVA be a different man, still it cannot positively be said that ABHINAVAGUPTA was unacquainted with ŚAṀKARA'S *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*, because in places [1] ABHINAVA cites explanations which verbally agree with, or are akin to, those of ŚAṀKARA; and when so early a commentator as the Vedāntin BHĀSKARA cites ŚAṀKARA'S *Gītābhāṣya*,[2] the doubt raised as to the authenticity of the latter [3] will be seen to be gratuitous. Dr. CHINTAMANI has given enough evidence to show that even Kashmirian commentators on the *Bhagavadgītā*, while mainly following the Kashmirian recension, knew and at times adopted the Vulgate or NĪLAKAṆṬHA recension of the *BG*. I have elsewhere shown [4] that the Kashmirian readings are in the majority of cases secondary, as being deliberate attempts to remove irregularities of grammar or syntax, or improve the sense. In Kashmir the popularity of this secondary recension is due to the prestige lent to it by a number of learned commentators who flourished in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, but it cannot claim to be regarded as the original form of the *BG*.

The extra stanzas which are found in the Kashmirian recension cannot be said to have originally belonged to the *BG*, and subsequently omitted from it. In a work like the *Bhagavadgītā* the tendency rather would be to make additions than omissions. Nor is the Kashmirian recension alone in having extra stanzas. In some of the Mss. hailing from other parts of India extra stanzas, more than half a dozen, are found. [5]

The *Gītāmāna* stanza of six lines—षट्शतानि सविंशानि &c.—which gives the extent of the *BG* as 745 stanzas is comparatively recent, and is not much known outside the Kashmir recension.

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[1] Compare under iii. 14 Abhinava's reference अन्ये तु, अन्नं तावद्वीर्यलोहितक्रमेण भूतकारणम् &c. with Śaṁkara's अन्नाद्भुक्ताल्लोहितेन परिणतात् प्रत्यक्षं भवन्ति जायन्ते भूतानि etc. Also cp. under ii. 59, iv. 34, vi. 25, viii. 6, ix. 23 etc.

[2] See Chintamani's Intro. pp xxviii ff.

[3] First mooted by B. FADDEGON in his Doctorate thesis on *Śaṁkara's Gītā-bhāṣya*, Amsterdam 1906, and more or less endorsed by F. OTTO SCHRADER.

[4] Introduction to the Ānandavardhinī, pp. 18 ff.

[5] Cf. the work above cited, p. 22.

It cannot therefore be cited to prove the originality and authenticity of the Kashmir recension, which, it is argued, has preserved for us a few of these extra stanzas. If reliance is to be placed on the above stanzas, it would be in the first place necessary to find a *Gītā* in which not only the total extent, but the details of the individual speakers' totals agree. The contention that the Persian translator of the *BG* knows a *Gītā* of 745 stanzas has no probative force, because the Persian version is merely giving a Persian translation of the *Gītāmāna* verse, the actual *Gītā* text presupposed by the version being practically identical with the current text of 700 or 701 stanzas.

The extra stanzas found in the Kashmir recension now before us total 17½ ślokas, 10 of them assigned to Kṛṣṇa and 7½ to Arjuna. That will not obviously help us in arriving at the detailed figures mentioned by the *Gītāmāna* stanzas for each speaker. The RĀJAVAIDYA of Gondal has recently unearthed a *Gītā* of 745 stanzas, but it has no higher value than the *Śuddha Dharma Maṇḍala Gītā*. Gondal's latest seeks to reach the desired figure by importing the requisite number of stanzas from some late and sectarian *Upaniṣads* (amongst them a stanza from the *Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad-Kārikā* of *Gauḍapāda* !). In a paper (in Marathi) published in the *Puruṣārtha* of March 1942, pp. 313-320, I have examined the claim of this new recension of the *Gītā* to be the long-sought original *Gītā*, and found it altogether untenable.

I have already suggested a theory as to how the idea of a *Bhagavadgītā* of 745 stanzas arose.[1] That theory in a slightly revised form I hope to publish shortly along with the Persian Translation of the *Gītāsāra*. I will not therefore try to answer here Dr. Chintamani's objections to it.

The Index of Ardhas given at the end of the volume under review is no doubt very useful; but it labours under the grave defect of playing fast and loose with a strictly rigorous alphabetical sequence.

We congratulate Dr. Chintamani upon this meritorious publication, which will be found indispensable for a critical study of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

S. K. Belvalkar
10-4-1943

[1] "The Bhagavadgītā 'Riddle' Unriddled" *Annals BORI*, Vol. xix, pp. 335-348.

ŚRĪMAN MAHĀBHĀRATA TĀTPARYA NIRṆAYA— Adhyāyas 1-9, with English translation and Notes by B. Gururaja Rao, B.A., B L., Retd. Subjudge, Bangalore, Price Two Rupees.

This work of the great Dvaita teacher Ānanda Tīrtha, popularly called Śrī Madhvācārya, is, among others, studied, and used also for daily pāṭha purposes, by many followers of the Dvaita School. The teacher has also composed similar Tātparya Nirṇayas for the Bhagavadgītā and the Bhāgavata purāna. The work under review, as the author himself says, gives, in its first adhyāya a summary of Dvaita principles, based on the old sacred literature, and in the following adhyāyas gives, the story of the Mbh. in a different setting, as can be seen by its comparison with the extant text of the Great Epic. The reason given by the learned author, is

कचिद्ग्रन्थान्प्रक्षिपन्ति कचिदन्तरितानपि ।
कुर्युः कचिच्च व्यत्यासं प्रमादात्कचिदन्यथा ॥

"Interpolations, omissions, transpositions in the original text, either through ignorance, or otherwise," these form the basis, as can be readily seen, of the modern Science of Textual Criticism. This is not the place to see whether the methods at present followed by the modern research scholars, agree with those followed by the great Dvaita Teacher of the 12th century; still the fact that the principles had been clearly laid down, in these times, does great credit to Indian scholarship.

A most unfortunate—may I say, vicious!—tendency has developed even among Indians, to study Sanskrit text from English translations and Notes, without ever caring to know what the original Sanskrit text contains, and the evil that arises out of this, is, that the carelessness or ignorance, of the translator, which is solely responsible for misinterpretation of the original text, is taken by the reader to be the opinion of the original author. English studies being mainly encouraged,

Sanskrit studies have been neglected, and numerous misconceptions have, in these days, come out as a result.

Sanskrit scholarship requires a thorough understanding of the original Sanskrit texts, but the layman or even one who cares to know, does not see the propriety of this principle, and is satisfied with the translation offered. This will show the great responsibility lying upon the translator, and the learned Mr. Gururaja Rao is to be congratulated for the care he has taken in rendering his English translation as close to the original, as possible. The Notes, too, culled out from an unpublished commentary by Śrī Vādirāja, are helpful to the reader, and we recommend the work to the general student, who would like to study the great Dvaita teacher, by having recourse to English translation.

The volume under review contains only the portion pertaining to the Rāmāyana; it would be necessary to have the remaining portion of the original work, to give us a correct idea of how Srī Madhva presents his real Bhārata Tātparya Nirṇaya.

S. N. Tadpatrikar

THE PṚTHVĪRĀJAVIJAYA OF JAYĀNAKA with the commentary of Jonarāja. Edited by Mm. Rai Bahadur Sāhitya Vācaspati Dr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, D.Litt. (Hony) and the Late Pandit Chandradhar Sharma Gulari, B. A., Ajmer, 1941, Price Rs. 5.

This is a critical edition of the birch-bark Ms. of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, which was first discovered by Bühler in 1867. This should have been a standard work on the early Rajput history, particularly for the Pṛthvīrāja–Shahbuddin Ghori wars, but for the fact that the manuscript was mutilated, and the portion dealing with the hero's abduction of Saṁyuktā and the consequent wars with Jayachandra, and the Muslim invader is missing from the present manuscript.

However, in the absence of any other contemporary Indian

records and other copies of this manuscript, Dr. Ojha has done well in editing the present Ms. from a single copy. For though the most important portion, as pointed out above, is missing, still the extant portion-cantos I-XII, will surely help, as Dr. Ojha hopes, 'students of the history of India, particularly that of Rajputana'.

This may be pointed out briefly. While the work is of undoubted help for the history of the pre-Prthvirāja history of the Cāhamānas (Cauhānas), as pointed out by Bühler long ago, contradict as it does the *Raso* of Chanda Bardai, and supports the epigraphical evidence, it is also of importance for the political history of the countries adjacent to Rajputana, Gujarat, Malwa, Bengal and Karnatak, as well as for the references to temples of gods and goddesses at Puskara, Narapura, Somanatha, Broach. In Canto V, verse 51, we have a welcome corroboration of the traditions according to which Solanki Gurjara (Caulukya) Mūlaraja, who had fled to the fort of Kanthkot in Cutch was besieged there by the Chauhan King Vigraharāja.

H. D. Sankalia

JAINISM AND KARNAṬAKA CULTURE by S.R. Sharma, M.A., Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, 1940, pp. I-XIX: p-213, Price Rs. 5/-. Foreword by A. B. Latthe, Esq., M. A., LL.B., M. L. A.

Mr. Sharma was one of the earliest students of Father Heras and the work under review formed a part of the thesis 'Jainism in South India', which he wrote under Father Heras' guidance at the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. A portion of it relating to Karnataka is now published on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Karnatak Historical Research Society.

The work is divided into five parts: 1 Historical Survey, 2 Contributions: Literature, Art and Architecture, 3. Idealism and Realism, 4. Karnataka Culture, 5, Appendices.

In part 1 the author has succeeded in showing that from the historical times till the present Jainism received some sort of patronage from the principal dynasties which ruled over Karnataka, while at times, as under the Gaṅgas, it became a state religion. It is gratifying to know that the present Mysore kings uphold the traditions of their predecessors.

In part 1 the author narrates the work of Jain writers, who flourished in Karnataka. Unfortunately most of the extant works of these writers are in manuscript form. Unless these are edited and published, as are the Śvetāmbara works of Gujarāt, our knowledge of Karnataka Jainism, which was preponderantly Digambara, will remain superficial. Likewise a true idea of Jain Contribution to Karnataka art, architecture, sculpture, iconography and cults can be had only when numerous Jain, unrecorded and recorded, inscriptions and monuments are systematically studied. At present it would seem, as has been already pointed out by Coomaraswamy, that Jaina art, architecture etc, formed a part of the prevailing regional and dynastic style, be it Chalukya or Hoysala in Karnataka ; or Solanki in Gujarat, or Chandalla at Khajuraha.

It is no wonder that Jainism is now not as it was during the time of its first introduction in Karnataka, and has not lived up to its ideal. For apart from the fact that principles and practice always differ, the environment in which a religion has to flourish always counts, and great Teachers, Buddha himself, had from time to time incorporated modifications into the rules of life of his followers.

In the north as well as in the south Jain archaeology has not received as much attention as it should from scholars. Both exploration and exhaustive study of the known monuments is necessary. This is no less true of its literature. Both these studies can profit if young students come forward, preferably Jain and from different respective religions so that they will be able to do justice to the subject by their training and understanding.

H. D. Sankalia

THE LAW OF WAR AND PEACE IN ISLĀM (A Study in Muslim International Law), by Majid Khaddūrī, Ph.D., London, 1941. Price Sewn 6, cloth 8; pp. 132; size 9″ × 6″.

This interesting book of Dr. Khaddūrī is to be hailed as a nice and handy work on Muslim International Law.

Dr. Khaddūrī, in this volume, attempts to "study the theory and practice of Muslim Law with regard to non-Muslim communities as revealed in the *Qurān*, *Hadīth* and the writings of the Muslim jurist-theologians," and limits the field of his work only to the "first four centuries of the Islāmic era"

The book is divided into three Parts: Part I deals with the Fundamental Concepts of Muslim Law; Part II with the Law of War and Part III with the Law of Peace.

In Part I, Chapter I, the author discusses the problem whether or not Islām was meant to be a religion for the whole universe and then finds justification for the need of International Law in Islām. In Chapter II, he discusses the Nature and Sources of Law, i. e. the *Qurān*, the *Sunnah*, the *Ijmā* and the *Qiyās*. Referring to the collection of Hadīth the author remarks that the "deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad were not recorded after his death as was the case with the *Qurān*," which statement is historically incorrect, for we know that the work of recording in black and white the traditions of the Prophet was already undertaken even during the life time of the Prophet.

In the Introduction to part II, Chapter III, the author, after discussing the limited expansion of Islām, points out that there were two divisions of the world: '*Dāru'l-Islām*' and '*Dāru'l-Harb*', the former corresponding to the Muslim Empire. In Chapter IV the author discusses the 'Foundations of the *Jihād*' and says: "the *Jihād* as such was not a casual phenomenon of violence; it was rather a product of complex conditions existing while Islām worked out its doctrinal character". Giving due consideration to the Semitic Migration theory, the author remarks: "There were ... other factors which played a no less important rôle in fomenting the Muslim attitude towards the conquest of the world. There

were the religious and political factors, combined together; in such a way as to create in the minds of the Muslims the idea of a politico-religious mission to the whole world". Speaking about the peaceful character of the Prophet's early preaching the writer aptly remarks that war 'was not introduced into Arabia by Islām. It was already in existence among the Arabs'. "But the real importance of Islām," says the author, "lies in shifting the focus of attention of the tribes from their inter-tribal warfare to the outside world". In Chapter V he discusses the Nature and Principles of the *Jihād* and points out that the doctrine of the *Jihād*, as worked out by Muslim publicists, was a product of a later period of Islām, when the Empire had already been built up. He then traces the gradual evolution of the doctrine of the *Jihād*. In Chapter VI he shifts on to describing the various types of the *Jihād*: 1. Against Polytheists, 2. Against Secession, 3. Against Dissension, 4. Against Deserters, Gangsters and Robbers. Ibn Rushd mentions a fifth type also, viz. the *Ribāt* or Safeguarding of the Frontiers. A Sixth, namely, against the *Scriptuararies* has also been mentioned. In Chapter VII the author enters into a rather interesting topic, namely 'The initiation of War'. The duty of 'declaring' the war always rested with the Prophet and his Successors, the Caliphs. Without such 'declaration' it could never commence. Before declaring war the Prophet and his Successors resorted to a custom of 'inviting' the polytheists either to accept Islām or to agree to pay the tribute. The author adduces historical evidence to show that this custom, which had the force of law, was strictly and invariably observed by the Prophet and his Successors. Historical evidence has also been produced by the author to show that negotiations had also been resorted to before declaring war. In Chapter VIII, the author comes to discuss a very important topic, namely, 'Military Methods'. He first enumerates the necessary qualifications of a *Jihādist*, then he shifts on to the 'Command', 'the Composition of the Army' and finally to the 'Conduct of Fighting'. In Chapter IX he indulges into a legal problem, namely, the 'Status of Persons and Property in War'. In Chapter X the author describes the 'Termination of Fighting', by (i) complete Surrender by the enemy, (ii) Treaty of Peace and (iii) by Arbitration.

Part III commences with an Introduction followed by chapters on *Amān*, Treaties, Arbitration, Status of the Dhimmīs and Diplomacy in Islām, and comes to an end with Conclusions. Of all these chapters, those dealing with Treaties and Conclusions are instructive and readable.

So much for the contents of the book. It remains now to be pointed out that the subject which the author has dealt in the book under review has been already handled by European Orientalists and Indian Scholars and very little new has been added by the author. Of course, he deals with the subject in a critical manner, although at times he is unwittingly carried away by Christian missionary points of view. Be that as it may, we appreciate the work of Dr. Khaddūrī and hope that he will produce in the near future other works of scholarship and learning that will open a new vista for Orientalists and students of Islāmic Studies.

Shaikh Chānd Husain

ARABICA & ISLAMICA, by Mr. U. Wayriffe, revised edition, published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London, 1940. Pages 416, '10¼ × 6½'. Fifteen shillings.

These select pieces of translation, sketches and essays on subjects connected with Arabic language and literature and Islamic Studies, contain a good deal of readable matter, although the author, owing to modesty, does not claim erudition for it. It would, nevertheless, be unfair to call the work '*merely popular*', for it contains much that is likely to prove useful to many a student of Arabic and Islamic Studies.

There are at least thirteen main pieces of which the largest is the one that gives extracts from the *ṢAḤĪḤ* of Bukhārī, one of the chief works on ḤADĪTH. Among other essays those on language (Ch. I), Early Literature (Ch. II), Life of Muḥammad (Ch. III), Miracles (Ch. XX), Burying Alive of Female Infants (Ch. XXI). Veiling of Women (Ch. XXII) and Historians (Ch. XXIII), contain very little that can be called original. A large

portion of the contents of Chapter III (Life of Muḥammad) is controversial and displays lack of critical appreciation on the part of the author, who seems to base his conclusions on older European writers. The entire paragraph on p. 38, beginning with " It is doubtful whether Muhammad ever formed a plan of universal conquest ... " is self-contradictory, for the author himself gives on that page and the following full details of the Prophet's plans. On pp. 50–51, the author reproduces the long-repudiated story of Mary the Coptic (see Amīr ' Alī, *The Spirit of Islām*, p. 235 note). Mr. Justice Amīr 'Alī's words may be reproduced here with advantage. :—

> ' The story told by Muir, Sprenger. and Osborn, with some amount of gloating of the domestic squabble between Hafsa and Muhammad, concerning Mary, the Coptic girl presented to the Prophet's household by the Negus, is absolutely false and malicious ".

Another instance in the narration of which many of the European critics of Islam seem to take great pleasure, and which has been also summarised by our author, is the absurd story of THE LIE. I need hardly point out that the very title by which this fictitious story is known sufficiently indicative of its character and should ordinarily suffice for the seekers of THE TRUTH.

' Antar and Beni Hilal ', and Ma ' arrī's *Risālatu'l-Ghufrān* are good ; more reliable and representative selection (in English translation) from the latter has been published by Dr. R. A. Nicholson, in the *JRAS*, ' Later Classical Poetry ' contains good selections from Mutanabbi and al-Ma 'arri, and makes a delightful reading. The most important of all the pieces is the author's translations of extracts from the *ṢAḤĪḤ* of Bukhārī,

With all these things in view I congratulate Mr. Wayriffe for his work and believe that as time passes his interest in Islamic and Arabic Studies will become greater and greater and that he will produce works of scholarship.

Shaikh Chānd Ḥusain

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE RAMAYANA, N. A. Gore, M.A., Crown 8vo. vi, 99 pp. Poona, 1943. Price Rs. 1-8.

In this handy and useful compilation, which is meant both for a student and a scholar, Prof. Gore has given as many as 366 entries of the text-editions, translations, critical literature and papers on the Rāmāyana. In the Appendix, the author has given many valuable extracts from the works of orientalists, who have studied the epic from various angles of vision. These are very useful to the students, for which they will be grateful to the author. We hope that this booklet will encourage our students to study critically the epic, which normally has been neglected in the University courses.

R. D. Vadekar

A HISTORY OF THE CANONICAL LITERATURE OF THE JAINAS by Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M.A., Royal 8vo. xii, 972 pp. Price Rs. 5, Surat, 1941.

In this book Prof. Kapadia has tried to give us the history of the Svetāmbar Jain Canon as it is known to us. The author has no doubt collected much traditional material bearing on the historical presentation of the extant Jain canon. But his presentation is very clumsy. The author has not made a very strict distinction between tradition and history. Later accounts given in commemtaries, which are partly mythical or fabulous cannot have much historical value and the author has not tried to enter into problem of the relative ages of the various books of the Jain canon. Everyone agrees that the books which have been included in the canon do not belong to the same age; hence a chronological arrangement of the books is not only desirable, but a similar stratification in the body of the same book is also worth wishing for. The author has accumulated ample material from the traditional sources and the book can be used as such,

although the manner in which the material has been presented is likely to be tiresome to the student-world. Especially the last chapter which the author calls " comparison and evaluation " is fully illustrative of the author's style of the treatment of the subject. It is a store-house of all sorts of things, ranging from metaphysics and ethics to footwear, sticks and lullabies! We wish that the author had treated the subject more seriously, systematically and not huddled up things of uneven importance all together — The book gives two indexes, but we fail to see the purpose of their separation-and further the author's practice of arranging the titles of English works according to their pronunciation in the order ot the Devanagari alphabet is very queer. Even in the same index we cannot understand why the author allowed the entry *Daśavaīkālika* and *Dasaveyatiya* stand separately (p. 251). We cannot recommend the book whole-heartedly to our student-world.

R. D. Vadekar

JAIN SĀHITYA AUR ITIHĀSA (in *Hindi*) By Nathuram Premi, Crown 8vo. 20 616. Hindi Grantha Ratna Karyalaya, Bombay, 1942. Price Rs. 3/-

The title of the work does not mean what it would mean *prima facie* i. e. it is not a history of Jaina literature or history of Jainism, but a collection of papers dealing with the problems of Jain literature and socio-historical topics relating to Jainism. Panditji, himself a devout Jain and a close student of Jain literature and religion, needs no introduction to the orientalists, although his work is unfortunately not available to the English-knowing public. Prof. Upadhye has written an introduction to the work in English, which brings out the importance of the research work of the Panditji and points out the rare and original material brought forward by the patient and diligent labour of the author. We very much wish that all these papers should be presented succinctly in English in some Journal, so that they would be utilised by the scholars working in the field.

Until Hindi becomes a language understood by everyone in India, this need would be felt. Panditji's papers are uniformly learned and replete with new material, especially his papers on the Literature of the Yāpanīya Saṅgha, Places of Pilgrimage of the Jains and his studies of the Apabhraṁśa works are extremely valuable. We heartily recommend this work to every lover of Jain literature.

R. D. Vadekar

THE DVAITA PHILOSOPHY AND ITS PLACE IN THE VEDANTA. Studies in Philosophy. No. 1. By H. N. Raghavendrachar, M.A., Crown 8vo. pp. 282. Published by the University of Mysore, Mysore, 1941. Price Rs. 3.

The author, himself a devout Dvaitin, has presented in this book the philosophy of Madhvācārya succinctly and systematically In fact such a work was long needed for the study of the great ācārya, who has been unnecessarily neglected in the philosophical world. Before the author proceeds to expose the main tenets of the Dvaita Vedānta, he has given briefly the systems of the Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta and then in about 100 pages he summarises the system of Madhvācārya. One remarkable point of the author's presentation of the Dvaita Vedānta is that he tries to show that Dvaita in Madhva's philosophy cannot be correctly translated by *dualism*, as this supposes the existence of two independent and absolute principles. Hence the author proposes to call the system of Madhva as monism and tries further to distinguish it from the absolute monism of Śaṁkara and qualified monism of Rāmānuja. Another point worthy to note is the author's account as to how the weakness of the Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta are met with in Madhva's system. We thank the author for this excellent presentation of the Dvaita Vedānta to students of Indian philosophy. The University should be congratulated for the excellent printing and get-up of the volume.

R. D. Vadekar

INDIA AS DESCRIBED IN EARLY TEXTS OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM, By Bimala Churn Law, Thesis approved by the University of Lucknow for the degree of Doctor of Literature. Demy 8vo. pp xiii, 315. Luzac & Co., London 1941.

In this book Dr. Law has collected together the geographical, historical and religio-philosophical information from Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain sources. The author has before him the classical model of Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, the plan and arrangement of which the author has followed to a large extent. Obviously fuller material and fresh sources, opened by the researches of the orientalists have made Dr. Law's book more complete and authoritative and we congratulate the author on having brought out this manual for the use of our University students who have to read a course in Ancient Indian History. The author has manifestly kept back much of his material on the origin and development of the various branches of learning and sciences. For instance on page 259 Dr. Law refers to the Indian sciences of medicine and surgery. Here he could have utilised the entire chapter of the Mahāvagga (vi) which is devoted to the use of drugs and their preparations, and which has preserved descriptions of a few surgical cases, treated by Jivaka Komārabhacca. This and other similar material have yet to be explored and evaluated by orientalists. We hope Dr. Law will do so in the second edition of the book.—An excellent Index and a good map of Ancient India enhance the value of Dr. Law's work.

R. D. Vadekar

HISTORICAL METHOD IN RELATION TO SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. University of Madras, 1941. Pages 56. (Bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology—No. 7). Rs. 1-12-0

This reprint of lectures delivered by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in 1938 is a very welcome addition to the scanty literature on the subject. Considering the progress of University education in our country Historical study has unconscionably lagged behind. While in other advanced countries there is ample literature to guide the tyro on the path of scientific historical research, there is a sad dearth of it in India. Rev. H. Heras' introductory book on *Methodology of Indian History* is not available at present. Mr. V. S. Bendre's *Sādhana Cikitsā* written in Marathi and dealing with Maratha History is not of use to non-Marathi readers. Sir S. A. Khan's *The History and Historians of British India* is inadequate even for the period it deals with. A book of the type of F. J. Weaver's *The Material of English History* is badly needed for Indian students. Indeed as Mr. Sastri has remarked " The bibliographical aid now available on this side of the subject is none too extensive, and there is need of a detailed survey of the material that would enable the beginner to get at his sources without an undue waste of his time and energy in preliminaries. "

The brochure under review comprises five chapters, viz. 1. General Principles; 2. Literary Evidence; 3. Archaeology; 4. Epigraphy; and 5. Chronology; with a very helpful Appendix on 'Hints to Students' and a short Bibliography. As the title indicates, the material chosen relates to South Indian History, and the scope of the lectures has made the treatment " necessarily only selective and illustrative ". Yet, veteran scholar that Professor Sastri is, his presentation is masterly and meticulously scientific. Despite his terseness and rigorous standards, however, Prof. Sastri affords his readers, though occasionally, some humour such as when he writes critically : " In describing the prosperity of the court, our poets would think of nothing less than golden gates for palaces. Whenever I read of golden gates I think I can reasonably be sure only of this: that gold was known and that palaces had gates. "

Altogether an edifying little book.

S. R. Sharma

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY, VOL. I — VEDIC, by K. Madhav Krishna Sharma, M.O.L. Adyar Library, Adyar (Madras), 1942. Size 7¼"×10", pp. XXXVI+415, Price Rs. 15.

The Adyar Library contains a valuable collection of Mss. bearing on all branches of Sanskrit learning and allied subjects. The manuscripts in this collection are being used by numerous scholars in India through the favour of the authorities of the Library. The Bhandarkar Research Institute itself has procured on loan for its members many Manuscripts from the Adyar Library during the last twenty-five years. The lists of Manuscripts published by the Adyar Library, in the absence of a full description of each Ms., have been found to be deficient in satisfying the curiosity of the researchers about the contents of each Manuscript and consequently the Adyar Library prepared a scheme for a complete descriptive catalogue of their collection of Mss. more than five years ago. Dr. F. O. Schrader, the then Director of the Library brought out Volume I (Upanisads) under this scheme in 1908. Subsequently the Library could not make any progress in this direction till about 5 years ago, when the authorities decided to continue the scheme according to a revised plan outlined by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon) in his Introduction to this Volume.

The present Volume containing a description of the Vedic Mss. in the Library by Shri K. M. K. Sharma, M.O.L. is Vol. I under the revised scheme. We are happy to note that the Adyar Library has been fortunate in having at its disposal the active co-operation and advice of a scholar of Dr. Raja's eminence, as also in having the services of a brilliant research assistant, Shri K. M. K. Sharma (now Curator of the Anup Sanskrit Library and Director of Oriental Publications, Bikaner) for the preparation and publication of this Volume.

We understand that the revised scheme of this Catalogue will comprise in all 12 volumes including the present Volume,

Subsequent Volumes may not appear exactly in the same order in which they are mentioned in Dr. Raja's scholarly Introduction to this Volume (p. 10). In whatever order the Volumes are published, the completion of the scheme will be hailed with delight by all Sanskrit scholars in India and outside. We feel confident that the authorities of the Library will exert themselves fully in the matter of issuing this set of catalogues with reasonable expeditiousness as they have done in the past with regard to their other publications.

The volume under review comprises a description of 1103 Vedic Mss. together with Indices of works noticed, authors of works noticed, works cited, authors cited, scribes, owners and others and place-names. An attempt has been made to compress as much useful description of each Ms as is possible within the limits of space imposed on the compiler without omitting essential details of the Mss. The Catalogue is prepared not merely for the use of students of Sanskrit Literature but also for those interested in the allied problems of Indology. A Descriptive Catalogue is not a History of Literature In some of the early Descriptive Catalogues prepared by responsible scholars the historical aspect of each manuscript was specially kept in view by the compilers. But at a time when many libraries in India are full of Mss which have remained undescribed for the last half a century and when scholars are crying for an objective description of these Mss for use in connection with their research work, it may not be necessary to follow the method of elaborate description adopted by the early compilers of these catalogues as such a procedure would protract the preparation and publication of the Descriptive Catalogues of the Mss. in India to an indefinite period. Without, therefore, making a Descriptive Catalogue a ground for any display of scholarship for which fortunately there are innumerable research Journals now in India and outside, the compiler should try to confine himself to an accurate description of the Mss. before him and at the same time record references to other Descriptive Catalogues where copies of these works have been described by previous scholars. Such a procedure would obviate much repetition of the scholarly display and at the same time give us the necessary

description of each new Ms. not hitherto described. It is the business of a compiler to open the door to new sources of knowledge without prejudicing the reader's mind by discussing any theories pertaining to the works described. In short the compiler should concentrate more on the objective side of the Ms. than on its subjective side

The Adyar Library, as Dr. Raja observes, is not meant for a mere conclave of specialists devoid of the wider interests of humanity. It is a place from which the real wisdom of ancient India is to emanate. Looking from this point of view also the Mss. in the Library provide the only bridge that connects the past with the present and it is the function of the compiler of a Descriptive Catalogue to point out the dependability or otherwise of the several planks of this formidable bridge for the guidance of those who care to use it with a cautious step.

We congratutate Mr. Sharma on the successful compilation of this Volume as also Dr. C. K. Raja under whose scholarly guidance the Volume has been prepared by Mr. Sharma. All Sanskrit scholars would be grateful to the authorities of the Adyar Library for the renewal of their Descriptive Catalogue scheme especially at a time when the difficulties in the way of publishing such volumes are almost insurmountable

P. K. Gode

BOOKS RECEIVED

A College Text-book of Indian History Volume III, A. D. 1700 to 1941, R. Sathianthaier, M. A., L. T., Rochouse & Sons, Ltd., Madras

A Hand-book of Vīraśaivism, S. C. Nandimath, M.A., Ph.D., Literary Committee, L. E. Association, Dharwar

Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa, C. Sivaramamurti, M. A., The Samskrta Academy Madras

Upadeshasāhasri, Swāmi Jagadānanda, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras

Liṅgadhāranacandrikā, M. R. Sakhare, M. A., T. D., Thalakwadi, Belgaum

Some concepts of the Alaṁkāra Śāstra, V. Raghavan, M. A., Ph. D., The Adyar Library, Adyar

Vedāntaparibhāṣā, S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, The Adyar Library, Adyar

The Bhagavad-Gītā and Modern Scholarship, S. C. Roy, M. A. (London), I. E. S., Luzac & Co, London

The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, N. Venkataramanayya, M. A., Ph. D, University of Madras

Vasanta Vilāsa, K. B. Vyas, M. A, N. M. Tripathi & Co, Bombay

Srī Rāmānujacampu, Prof. P. P. S. Sastriyar, Madras

Praśasti-Saṁgraha, Pandit K. B. Śastri, Jain-Siddhānta-Bhavan, Arra

Ālambanaparīksā, N. A. Sastri, The Adyar Library, Adyar

Hand list of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Mss. of New College, Edinburgh, R. B. Serjeant, Ph. D., (Cantab)

वीर-स्तुई, उपाध्याय जैनमुनि आत्मारामजी, चौधरी बसन्तमल जैन फरीदकोट (स्टेट)

Prakriyāsarvasva, C. Kunhan Raja, University of Madras

The Doctrine of Karman in Jain Philosophy, G. Barry Gifford, Bai Vijibai Jivanlal Panalal Charity Fund, Bombay

The Nayaks of Tanjore, V. Vriddhagirisan, M. A., M. Litt., L. T., University of Annamalai, Annamalainagar

Saṅgītasārāmṛta, Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri Music Academy, Madras

Vidyākara-Sahasrakam, Umesha Mishra, Senate House Allahabad

An Introduction to Classical Sanskrit, G. B. Shastri, Modern Book Agency, Calcutta

Bhāratīya-Tarka-Śāstra Praveśa, Pandit R. Kokaje, Lonavala

स्थानकवासी, जैनमुनि उपाध्याय श्री-आत्मारामजी, लाला वलायती रामकस्तुरी लाल जैन, लुधियाना



DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D.,
General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata

Born 4th May 1887 — Died 21st January 1943

(Through the courtesy of Prof. D. D. Kosambi)

IN MEMORIAM

Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar

1887–1943

The 21st of January 1943 drew a curtain, on the terrestrial plane, over the life of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and brought to an end seventeen years of silent, successful and inspiring work over the Critical Edition of India's Great Epic which he had made his own by his brilliant critical acumen, by his wonderful modesty and the complete identification of his life with the great work of which he became the chief instrument and the guiding spirit. To those who were acquainted with him personally during this period - a period marked by preparation, organization and silent but arduous work which brought the whole scheme within measure of early completion - his loss is perhaps irreplaceable, and all the more so, since up till the last minute of his conscious life Dr. Sukthankar was hale and hearty. The cause of his sudden passing away is understood to be Thrombosis which brought on right-sided paralysis at about 1 p. m. on Thursday the 21st January 1943 and ended his earthly career that same evening in the presence of friends who least expected it. It is, however, a matter of some satisfaction to his friends that in death his expression was benign and peaceful, and that he died like a hero in harness, at the very height of his career. It would be presumptuous on any one's part to assess the incalculable loss to Indology that this event has caused, for during the past two decades Sukthankar's name stood as a synonym for all that was noble, modest, accurate and profound in scholarship, a model difficult to be emulated for all future scholars in the world, and withal inheriting a strength of character, an inexhaustible fund of optimism which breathed an inspiring message of hope to all who came to him with their difficulties, and despite the detached expression which prevented seriously anyone from taking advantage of a close contact with him, possessing an appreciative heart which could clearly discern what was valuable and discard what was trash or worthless. It was this seriousness

of expression and inward detachment which prevented all, except his few privileged friends, from cultivating personal relationship with him. Nevertheless, all those who came into touch with him, whether in their day to day work at the Institute in the Mahābhārata Department, or in their studies, either as his students or collaborators, consulted him on their difficulties, one and all came under the influence of his magnetic personality, and in spite of the awe which he inspired in them all, came to regard him with affection and love. It is particularly from this angle that his death will be mourned as a personal loss by all his friends, pupils and collaborators.

To me personally Sukthankar's death, so sudden and unexpected, has been the source of inconsolable regret and a loss the magnitude of which I am not yet in a position to evaluate. My acquaintance with him began in 1933 when I personally met him at the Institute, although I knew him by reputation while I was in England during 1928-31 when the first fascicules of the *Ādiparvan* were published I remember very well the thrill of joy which I felt when looking through the first two fascicules in London at the School of Oriental Studies and studying the methods which Sukthankar had applied to the Critical Edition of the world's Greatest Epic. My interest in this work was further increased when during my stay in Bonn in 1930, I discussed problems of textual criticism as applied to the *Rāmāyaṇa* which Dr. Walter Ruben had undertaken as his personal work. Ruben's general criticism of the methods used by Sukthankar in the light of the difficulties involved and Sukthankar's brilliant reply which crushed all opposition and brought renown to the exact scientific methods which he had patiently evolved in the cause of the Great Epic, absorbed me completely. It is really significant that my first personal contact with Sukthankar became a realised fact within a few months of the publication of his great *Prolegomena* to the Ādiparvan, which is a masterpiece of scientific work achieved within the Indian field and a landmark which will hold good as long as India's Great Epic sways the mind of her people. What was merely apparent from the several papers contributed by him towards Epic Studies became, in the Prolegomena, a settled fact backed by precise methods and complete mastery of epic materials. One could no longer speak of a *Poona Recen-*

sion, as a great French savant had once remarked, and those critics who, either through established reputation or through the weight of their authority, thought they could materially differ from the learned editor of the first critical volume of the Great Epic, found to their surprise and joy a perfect master of western scientific methods with the innate intuitive eastern understanding of the problems involved. Yet, when I met him with feelings of deep admiration and great awe, and showed him the little things I had done or was working out, I could at once find in him a feeling of oneness with all research work which made one bold enough to discuss with him personal difficulties and problems. More than in any other scholar that I have met, I could find in him a strong, silent understanding, and he could convey in a word or a phrase far greater thoughts and ideas than any one else. It was these unspeakable reserves of power which people have often interpreted as aloofness or lack of sociability; but I soon discovered that he was really sociable and had a great fund of humour and a keen sense of understanding masked under the serious brow and the inward contemplation.

For two years between 1934 and 1936, during my absence from Poona, I was often in touch with Sukthankar through correspondence. The acquaintance which grew between us during these two years, ripened into deep friendship when I returned to Poona in 1936, and during the past seven years I had the benefit of meeting him almost daily and discussing the several problems of research in which we were both interested. I can only write my impressions of the great savant from my actual observations and therefore I am desisting from including here an account of his earlier life which I can best gather second-hand. It was while discussing some problems of linguistics in the Indo-European field during the period when I was working on the Descriptive Catalogue of Vedānta section of the Government Collection of Mss. deposited in the Institute, that the first germ of the idea of starting a review journal in the Indic field struck me. During the first part of 1937 when I spoke about this to Sukthankar he whole-heartedly sponsored the scheme and the *Oriental Literary Digest* came into being, with the collaboration of several scholars all over the country. From the *Oriental Literary Digest* to the *New Indian Antiquary* was one more step, but here I met, for the first time, with a well-informed opposi-

tion from him which I found difficult to circumvent. He was not alone, however, in this, for several of my collaborators on the *OLD* also held similar views. But that he was not confined to narrow views is proved by his most sincere collaboration and active help which were always at my disposal even when I differed from him. When the *New Indian Antiquary* was founded in 1938 against his first advice he could very well have kept aloof; but the innate nobility which characterised him and the strong optimism which always inspired his activities left him no choice other than of helping a young concern which drew inspiration from him. And the fact that he collaborated with the Editors of *NIA* in bringiug out two *Festschrifts* in honour of Prof. F. W. Thomas and Prof. P. V. Kane and saw them through all stages until the final completion is a matter of great joy to those who valued his cooperation beyond that of other scholars. These were merely the outward manifestations of a greatness of spirit and an objective approach for which he was well known. There were periods of great trial in the history of our ventures when his robust optimism and inspiring words alone saved us from giving up our self-inflicted tasks, and it would be no exaggeration to say that, though he did not allow his name to be associated as an Editor with the *NIA*, he was as much interested in its career and continuance as the Editors themselves His interest was not confined merely to the academic side; he was surprisingly well informed on several aspects of printing, and his guidance in such matters proved of inestimable worth to us. I have recorded these incidents just to show the character of the personality whose death has caused such a deep rent in our hearts.

The silent way in which he influenced the lives of fellow scholars may be illustrated ideally in the case of the Editors of the *New Indian Antiquory*. Mr. P. K. Gode, already a scholar of some repute when Dr. Sukthankar took charge of the General Editorship of the Critical Edition of the Great Epic, was inspired towards greater undertakings through his daily contact with him, and as he himself admitted at the joint meeting of the academic bodies in Poona held in February 1943 to pass a resolution of condolence, more than 200 papers were completed by him during

his 17 years' close contact with him. Similarly during my nine years' contact with him I never undertook any research activity without consulting him on the details of such work. Early in 1934, soon after he had delivered his Wilson Philological Lectures in the University of Bombay, I had requested him to bring out a practical book on Indian Textual Criticism for the benefit of scholars like myself who could not very well study the details contained in his Prolegomena. With characteristic vigour and deep insight he replied: 'You work with me for six months on the Critical Edition of the Mbh. and you will know what Textual Criticism is.' Little did I dream at that time that his cryptic remark hid underneath a fine perception of possibilities which he could direct with perfect mastery when the time came to exercise his force. It was only later, when our contact had deepened into personal friendship and regard, long after several volumes of *OLD* and *NIA* had been published, that I could sense his abiding influence. It was much against my own inclinations, and I may add, better sense, that I approached the problem of Indian textual criticism from a purely linguistic point of view, without realizing that my activities were motivated by a master- mind who remained behind, hovering imperceptibly in the background, exerting his influence as and when necessary and giving the required push to carry on those activities. It was in this manner that he apparently consulted me on some *lectio difficilior* in the critical edition and made me write a few papers on its linguistic peculiarities. What was from my own point of view a little excursus in the peculiarities of the critical edition was from his angle, an introduction to textual criticism itself. Yet, knowing my own antipathy to take up the critical work to the exclusion of linguistics which was naturally my chief field, he moved cautiously, never hinting to me either in words or by gestures, that it was his intention that I should myself qualify for the task which I had constantly placed before him. Gradually, step by step, from consultation to active collaboration on several questions, since 1937, I was led on to such a stage in 1940 that I was easily persuaded to undertake a short introduction to Indian Textual Criticism for use by our scholars here. But behind that persuasion was the unquestionable authority of the master-mind, ready to guide me with firm hand and

direct my faltering steps. My first attempts naturally did not satisfy him, for I was aiming to address the specialist while he was irrevocably bent upon my addressing the general scholar, and for a time I was hesitating on my next step. But finally his great love for the subject, his objective judgment and constant inspiration cleared every obstacle from my path and resulted in my small book on this subject in 1941. There were several other projects which he had in his mind and to which he had directed my attention, some partly completed and some newly undertaken. But before we could actually discuss the details- the discussion was to take place on the afternoon of January 21 this year according to the last note which he wrote to me on the preceding day - the cruel hand of death put a stop to all great work on the critical edition which he had made his own. Other scholars will perhaps testify to such influence on their lives either directly or indirectly through his writings, but I cannot fail to refer to these incidents which bring to light the hidden characteristics and on which I can personally speak with some authority.

What was the foundation of this unique scholarship which utilized the modern scientific methods with the precision which inspired confidence and which was the *sine que non* of real objective achievement? There have been a number of great scholars in India and abroad during the past hundred years or more, but in none of them was this scientific background so manifest as in Sukthankar. His moderation, the measure of his sentences which actually weighed the words he selected, and his published papers which are often the last words on the subject selected, generally indicated that mathematical exactitude which was so characteristic of him. His reticence was natural, not a studied pose, and more often than not, eloquent to the last degree. Perhaps it is not so well known among his friends and admirers that Sukthankar's first love was Mathematics, like that of Bhandarkar and Tilak or of Grassman and Whitney before him. His Cambridge days were really devoted to a study of Mathematics, and although during that period Modern Analysis had not yet made headway in Cambridge, the training in rigorous methods of proof and the measured use of words which he received there, characterised his later work to a degree never sur-

passed in purely Oriental Research. I have personally never been able to find out from Sukthankar the circumstances which led him on to specialization in Sanskritic studies and divorced him from his first love for Mathematics; but I have seen him reading, as late as in 1942, G. H. Hardy's Lectures on Ramanujam and appreciating many subtleties. What may have been a loss to Mathematics was certainly a happy and singular gain to Oriental Studies in India, and Sukthankar's entry in Indology was perhaps the first sign of a new orientation in purely cultural studies where strict scientific methods evolved by the 'mother of all sciences' could be applied rigorously and logically with a precision which was hitherto unknown in that field. Even to the last he kept himself in touch, as far as that was possible, consistent with his arduous work on the Critical Edition, with modern trends in Mathematics and allied sciences.

I cannot speak of Sukthankar's early days from first-hand information. As a literary biography has been promised to us by the V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee I shall briefly indicate here the general development of his career. He was born on the 4th of May 1887 and received his early education at the Maratha High School and St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Even during this early career he is said to have shown great promise. After completing his Intermediate Examination he left for England with a view to compete for the Indian Civil Service which was then attracting the best minds of England and India; but a far greater destiny awaited him to serve a worthier cause. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge and passed his Mathematical Tripos. Later he migrated to Edinburgh and Berlin Universities, and at Berlin studied under Prof. H. Luders in the department of Indology. One of his fellow students at this time was the late Rev. Father Zimmermann whose long service to Sanskrit at the St. Xavier's College is still being remembered reverently by his students. Sukthankar's doctoral dissertation was connected with the Critical Edition of Śākaṭāyana's Grammar and in spite of its being his first serious work about which he himself was not quite happy, it was a model of what was yet to come from his pen. In fact he had so far forgotten the existence of this little work that it was really a matter of genuine surprise

to him when he discovered several important references to obscure usages in this volume in Louis Renou's *Grammaire Sanscrite*. It is difficult for one who was not a contemporary of these great scholars to picture the relationship which must have existed between pupil and master. One can only refer to the correspondence which passed between them at the time of the completion of the critical edition of the Ādiparvan, for when Sukthankar closed the Prolegomena with a few words of deserved praise for the Master who had initiated him into the science of textual criticism and in the Indian spirit of true reverence attributed all that was good and abiding in this edition to the greatness of his Guru, the Teacher himself wrote back in his inimitable style that he had pupils year in and year out but none had done such brilliant work, and that therefore all the merit was Sukthankar's personally and his Guru had no share in it except in the glory and joy which was the natural reward for the pupil himself. Sukthankar's style represented the Man himself, and justified the dictum that the style is the man. Perhaps in this, as in his manner of approaching problems, he was closely allied to Lüders.

On his return to India Sukthankar joined the Archaeological department of the Government of India in the capacity of Assistant Superintendent of the Western Circle. During this period he contributed a number of important papers to the *JAOS*, *EI*, and other standard journals; he deciphered a number of epigraphs and devoted himself to a study of the Bhāsa problems. His review of Printz's monograph on the language of Bhāsa's Prakrit is as objective as it is penetrating, and he studied the entire question from several angles with perfect mastery. His specialization in philology and linguistics included a perfect mastery of palaeography, epigraphy and archaeology and later, when he joined the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute as General Editor of the Critical Edition, this knowledge was utilized for training postgraduate students in Ancient Indian Culture. But linguistics still remained as the chief field for him for investigation until the actual organisation of the critical edition and his ultimate absorption in it prevented him from keeping abreast of the latest researches. It is characteristic of him that he was attracted chiefly to such branches of Indic studies as could exhibit possibilities of scientific methods being applied to them,

When in 1925 he was invited to undertake the responsibilties of the General Editorship of the Critical Edition by the authorities of the Bhandarkar Institute, the conditions were not very favourable. The tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan had not progressed to that pitch of scientific achievement which could instil a sense of perfect confidence in the methods evolved or in the text so constituted. Though much spade work had been done during the four years since the inception of the editorial activities by Sir Ramkrishna in April 1919 when the tentative edition was published, and although Sukthankar himself refers to it with characteristic generosity in the *prospectus* issued by him in 1937 it was still far from the ideal which was yet to be achieved. Sukthankar had therefore to begin anew, organize the entire department, study the collations afresh and prepare slowly and surely the background which was to give the critical edition the almost coveted designation of 'definitive edition'. Few can understand the difficulties he had to face or the wonderful insight which enabled him to pick the methods and fix the principles, once for all, of editing a text the nature of which could become apparent only after a deep study. It is therefore a matter of wonder still that the first fascicule of the Ādi could be issued in 1927, just two years after he took charge of his onerous responsibilities. Let it not be thought that the principles which he finally enunciated in his immortal Prolegomena in 1933 were worked out during the eight years of his editorship which were necessary for the completion of the Ādiparvan; without the basic principles he could not have published the first fascicule itself. If this fact is taken into consideration, and if further we realize that the Parvan Editors who had the advantage of his unique experience required at least a year to get acquainted with their material and a couple more to constitute smaller texts, we shall perhaps be in a position to estimate, approximately, the loss that we have sustained by his untimely death. Even today, ten years after the Prolegomena has been before the public, there are scholars who are presumptuous enough to give an *ex cathedra* opinion about the Great Epic, without understanding the objective study which goes to make for its brilliance and abiding influence.

In addition to his work at the critical edition, Sukthankar was Editor-in-Chief of the *JBBRAS* for more than 17 years, a Member of the Reorganisation Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1938 in connection with the Deccan College and of its First Council of Management, a Founder Member of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan of Bombay, a Fellow of the University of Bombay during 1928-9 and a Member of the Boards of Studies in Sanskrit, Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī and History and Archaeology. He was actively connected with the publication of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute as the sole referee during its first year, and his help was always available to research Institutes which sought it. In this he followed the time-honoured principle of Christ: 'Ask and it shall be given'. He could not be coerced to do a thing against his will, but he was always ready to help in any manner consistent with his own life-work on the Mbh. Since 1933 he directed his attention to as speedy a completion of the critical edition as the materials at his disposal could allow. With the assistance of two Parvan Editors he brought out the Virāta and Udyoga Parvans while he himself completed the Āraṇyaka; with the assistance of Prof. Edgerton he had the Sabhā edited, and before his unexpected demise he had himself seen all but the last chapters of this Parvan through the press. Thus, in his Introduction to the Āraṇyaka, he refers to the completion of the critical edition of the first six parvans of the Mbh. comprising nearly 38,000 ślokas out of an aggregate of about 82, 150 or nearly 45 per cent of the Great Epic, during 17 years of his General Editorship. In the Prospectus which he issued in 1937 he remarks: 'The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which has devoted nineteen years of unceasing toil to the task and has spent nearly 2,00,000 Rs. on the same, is of course determined to husband all its resources and complete the undertaking: *within the next ten years if it be possible to obtain the sinews for it; within the next fifty years if the want of adequate sympathy and response for its appeals must needs prolong the struggle to that unconscionable length,*' During the presentation of the Critical Edition of the Sabhāparvan to the Raja of Aundh on 5th January 1943, Sukthankar's speech breathed a spirit of confidence

and a welcome optimism which was refreshing and inspiring to his audience. All listened to him with rapt attention and devoutly wished that the great undertaking should be fittingly concluded at his hands within a short period, and few had an inkling to what was going to happen just seventeen days later. Sukthankar had already done over 160 chapters of the Dronaparvan, and it was expected that with increasing collaboration of properly qualified scholars the editing could be expedited and the necessary funds found for completing the monumental work, the greatest land-mark in the history of Indology during the present century.

One is poignantly reminded of the words with which Sukthankar concluded his Introduction to the Āranyakparvan. He remarks therein : ' If Maharsi Krsna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa tells us that he has cried himself hoarse, urging people to follow the Path of Duty :

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष नच कश्चिच्छृणोति माम् ।
धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥

his shouting with uplifted arms has *not* been entirely vain He has *not* failed in his mission. Across the reverberating corridors of Time, we his descendants can still hear dimly his clarion call to Duty. It is in response to that call and in a spirit of reverent homage to that sage of unfathomable wisdom–that embodied Voice of the Collective Unconscious of the Indian people–we offer this work, pledged to broadcast to mankind, in this hour of its need and its peril, the luminous message of the Maharṣi :

न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभा- ।
द्धर्मं त्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ॥
धर्मो नित्यः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये ।
जीवो नित्यो हेतुरस्याप्यनित्यः ॥ "

Sukthankar's appeal in 1937 still remains unanswered; the sinews that he referred to therein are not only finances but also collaborators trained in critical editing of texts. It is a sad commentary on Indian scholarship that only three scholars were found qualified to be entrusted with this work, and it is still a greater tragedy that while Sukthankar lived there were not

many scholars who would take advantage of his mastery and learn from him the science of editing the Great Epic. 'Come and work with me for six months' has remained unanswered, and despite the facilities which he was glad to place at the disposal of really interested scholars, Vyāsa's cry became Sukthankar's. The reverberating corridors of time are functioning too late when the master has already flown away to his eternal abode. But it is hoped that the material he has left behind, the methods and principles which he has evolved in the cause of this magisterial work, and the detailed directions contained in his many-sided contributions to this science, will remain as the Bible for all future editors of the Epic.

I cannot conclude this liitle tribute to the memory of one with whom it was not only my privilege to be closely associated for the last seven years of my stay in Poona but also a constant source of inspiration towards greater achievement, without referring to two aspects of Sukthankar's life to which the world in general has no inkling. At heart he was greatly drawn towards the life spiritual and he craved for that direct experience which alone could set at rest the perennial hankering of the soul for final beatitude. It was in 1939-40 that I came into closest contact with him and discovered this aspect of his many-sided life. I was also instrumental, in 1940, of arranging for his visits to Shri Ramanashram, Tiruvannamalai and Shri Aurobindo Ashram at Pondicherry, on the closing of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference at Tirupati. Sukthankar had developed at this time a new interest in spiritual life and studied and practised a great deal of the tenets of such a life. The gradual change which this new hankering after ultimate reality brought in him can be visualized by the set of lectures which he was delivering before the University of Bombay during January this year. While his interest remained the same so far as the critical editing went, he was gradually being drawn towards the inner content of that great message of Maharsi Vyāsa which reflected, as he said, the Collective Unconscious of the Indian people and which was embodied in that corpus which has come down to us as the Great Epic of India. So from the *corpus* of the Mbh. he was passing on to the *anima*,

the content of the Mbh. which he placed before the world as the three-dimensional view of the Great Epic. Here again I had the privilege of being his first audience. As the lectures were getting ready over his typewriter I had the rare honour of being shown them first, and I was partly responsible for getting copies made of those lectures for him.

During this period he had firmly come to agree with me that we were but mere instruments in the hands of One Who was guiding the destinies of all manifestation, and that the best service we could render to ourselves, and therefore the whole Universe, was to surrender ourselves completely, consciously devoting ourselves to that set purpose. Many were the times when we referred to the puny strength of Man who considered himself the master of the Universe around him; a little break in an artery in the brain and where was he? Was it really prophetic uttering that was borne out by the incident on the 21st January this year? Who knows? Sukthankar was a great personality during life, loveable, inspiring confidence and reverence, and at the same time preventing too close a contact; in his death he transcended all limitations and achieved an immortality which had already been his birth-right.

Those that are left behind have a heavy responsibility to bear. We cannot find another Sukthankar to carry on his work with the same unflagging zeal and the same mastery of methods and principles. But we hope to remain true to his memory and the tradition that he has built around this Institute, and in this task we appeal to all scholars to merge their individual feelings in a common endeavour to achieve an almost impossible task facing us at this hour of trial. Money and men are needed but above all a spirit of self-surrender to the cause of Truth which is or ought to be the be-all and end-all of our existence, I feel confident that the Critical Edition will continue in the same tradition if those who are remaining behind prove true to the traditions already extablished by Sukthankar.

S. M. K.

TRIBUTE FROM THE WEST

Yale University

New Haven. Connecticut

Oriental Studies March 1, 1943

To the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, India:

I have just received the news of the death of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. It is not only a very grave personal loss to me; I counted him one of my best friends, and had come to feel a very deep respect and even affection for him as a man.

But the loss to scholarship is immeasurable, and, naturally, far more important. I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the Mahābhārata edition to others. Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had, and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him, like second nature; things which even those of us who have helped in the edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now, just when he could have exploited to the full this unique combination of knowledge and experience - ज्ञानं सविज्ञानम् - he is cut off in the midst of it.

I beg the Bhandarkar Institute, as representative of all of Dr. Sukthankar's Indian friends and admirers (whom I wish I could address personally), to accept this imperfect tribute as evidence of the depth and sincerity of my feeling of loss to myself and to the world. I am sure that this feeling will be shared by all Western Sanskritists.

Very sincerely yours,

Franklin Edgerton

TO DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR

Thy Country ill could spare thee at this hour,
When thy stupendous task was but half-done.
Of scholarship thou wast the full-blown flower
That had for India world-wide praises won,
'Twas thou her name upon the world-map placed,
And made her Epic great to scholars known,
A Wonder Book ; its hundred versions traced
Thou mastered with a learning all thine own !
Oh ! who will take the pen that Death has snatched
From thy unerring hand, thy work complete,
With zeal unflagging, like thy own, unmatched,
With learning deep and sound like thee replete.
Thy monumental work will shining stand,
Reflecting glory on the Motherland !

S. R. D.

शोकोद्गारः

सुकथङ्करवंशसागरोद्गतविद्वद्विधुरस्तमाययौ ।
इतिवृत्तमिदं हि शृण्वतां नियतं हृत्कमलं स्फुटिष्यति ॥ १

कति सन्ति बुधा न भूतले कृतविद्या अपि गर्वदूषिताः ।
सकलास्मगुणाकरो भवान्विदितोऽभूत्ननु सर्वदिक्ष्वपि ॥ २

स पराशरसूनुरेव किं स्वमहाभारतशोधनोद्भवैः ।
सहसा महसा परेण संयुयुजे त्वां सुकृतैः भवृंहितैः ॥ ३

करुणामितभाषितादयः क नु यान्त्वद्य गुणास्त्वया विना ।
विनिपात्य बुधाञ्शुगम्बुधौ किमकाण्डे व्यजहा धरामिमाम् ॥ ४

यशसा धवलीकृतेऽपि ते भुवने वस्तुनिरीक्षणोद्यमाः ।
तिमिरैरुपरुद्धचक्षुषो निधनात्ते वयमन्धतां गताः ॥ ५

सहसावृततारके त्वयि स्थगिताक्षाः कवयोऽश्रुनिर्झरैः ।
न कुहूगगने यथोडवो विलसन्त्यद्य विवर्णिताननाः ॥ ६

श्रवसोर्गरलोपमां ध्रुवं तव वार्तां सुकथंकर प्रभो ।
अवगत्य विदेशपण्डिताः क्षणमेष्यन्त्युपलस्थितिं भ्रमात् ॥ ७

सहजं किल संस्थितं पुराथ च वैद्यं निजमाप्तलक्षणम् ।
स्मरतो भवतोऽस्फुटन्मनः किमकाण्डे तनुरुज्झिता यतः ॥ ८

बहुपापिसमर्दिता मही हरये वेदयितुं निजस्थितिम् ।
प्रजिघाय भवन्तमेव किं करुणाब्धे बत वैष्णवं पदम् ॥ ९

तरितुं किल भारताम्बुधिं तरणिं त्वामुपलभ्य निर्भयान् ।
विनिमज्ज्य हि कालवात्यया कथमेवं शकलीकृतोऽसि नः ॥ १०

चरमं किल पर्व भारते न विलम्बं सहते स्म किं तव ।
अभिधाविषयीचिकीर्षुणा मुषितस्त्वं किमु तेन सत्वरम् ॥ ११

कठिनैरपि कर्मभिर्यथा हृदये जातु भवेन्न जामिता ।
समदर्शि तथा त्वया हि नो विषयेऽव्याजघृणा क्षमावता ॥ १२

विहता सुरभारती ध्रुवं ननु विद्वद्वर ते वियोगतः ।
न पुनर्जननं हि भावि तेऽतुलपुण्यैरपवर्गमेयुषः ॥ १३

विषया बहवोऽटितास्त्वया विषयाश्चापि नयेष्ववेक्षिताः ।
अथ निर्विषयोऽप्यभूः कथं चिरमित्येव हि विस्मयोऽद्य नः ॥ १४

कृतिनं मनुतां स्वमन्तको वपुषा तेऽपहृतेन केवलम् ।
भुवनप्रथितं हि ते यशो न हि माष्र्टुं चतुराननोऽप्यलम् ॥ १५

K. V. Krishnamoorthy

PROF. DR. HAR DUTT SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D.

The sad and untimely death of Prof. Dr. Har Dutt Sharma at Delhi on the 11th of September 1942 has removed from the field of Indology one of its ardent and enthusiastic researchers. Dr. Sharma was hardly forty-three at the time of his premature death. In his career as a research-worker extending over twenty years, he edited about fifteen books and wrote nearly twenty-five valuable papers embracing many branches of Sanskrit scholarship. But his most prominent achievement was the founding of the now well-established Journal the *Poona Orientalist*, with the co-operation of the late Dr. N. G. Sardesai of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona. He also prepared the Descriptive Catalogue of the *Vaidyaka*, *Tantra*, and *Dharmaśāstra* Manuscripts in the Government Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. He was planning to write a comprehensive book on the Sanskrit Anthologies; but unfortunately it was not to be!

As a student Dr. Sharma had a brilliant career. He was a Gold Medalist graduate of the Allahabad University (1920); he took the M. A. degree, with rare distinction, of the Benares Hindu University in 1922. Under the able guidance of that renowned Orientalist, Dr. M. Winternitz, he prepared the thesis: *Some Problems Connected with Brahmanical Asceticism* for which he was awarded the degree of Ph. D. of the University of Prague in 1930. He began his career as a Professor of Sanskrit at the Ramjas College, Delhi (1922-1926). Then in 1926, he joined the S. D. College, Cownpore, in the same capacity. Thereafter, he was a Sanskrit Tutor (1932-36) in the Retreat School established by Mrs. Ambalal Sarabhai. Next he came to Poona and worked for some time as an Honorary Prof. of Sanskrit in the S. P. College. Finally he went to Delhi once more and took up the appointment of the Senior Professor of Sanskrit at the Hindu College, and of the Reader in Sanskrit at the University of Delhi.

When one takes into consideration these vicissitudes in the life of Dr. Sharma, one is astonished at the amount of research

work of high merit turned out by him. Once he took up a work, he knew no respite until it was successfully completed. He worked with a rare singleness of purpose and indefatigable energy, even to the neglect of his health. His devotion to duty did not blind him, however, to the values of human life. He possessed a genial personality. Wherever he went he made numerous friends on account of his cheerful outlook on life, an ever-present smile, ready wit and a buoyant sense of humour. He had great command over Sanskrit, in which he lectured with grace and ease as though it were his mother-tongue. Besides, he had great liking for music and those who had the privilege of hearing him sing the *Aṣṭapadis* of Jayadeva at the delegates' lodge of the Hyderabad Session of the Oriental Conference will certainly miss him very much at its next Session. Though Dr. Sharma has shed the mortal coil, his memory will be ever green in the hearts of his numerous friends all over the country.

N. A. Gore

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA VĀSUDEVAŚĀSTRI ABHYANKAR

The death of Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudeva Śāstri Abhyankar, on the 14th Oct. 1942, brings to an end the distinguished line of teacher and pupil descending from the famous Nīlakantha Śāstri Thatte of the Peshwa days, who brought Sanskrit learning from its distant seat at Benares to this capital of Mahārāṣṭra. The study of grammar was the *forte* of these stalwarts and their profound knowledge of this branch gave them an easy mastery over other branches of Sanskrit learning like Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, since grammar is the very foundation of Sanskrit learning. The late Vāsudeva Śāstri was the last of these stalwarts and the most distinguished both on account of his position as Professors' Professor in the Fergusson College, and on account of the very extensive record of his erudition evidenced in numerous works that he wrote and edited during a fruitful period of 50 years of his life in Poona (1892 to 1942).

Vāsudeva Śāstri hailed from Satara where he studied under Rāmaśāstri Godbole, a distinguished pupil of Bhāskaraśāstri Abhyankar, the grand-father of Vāsudevaśāstri. Bhāskaraśāstri (1785-1872) founded a Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā at Satara, wrote a commentary on the difficult grammatical work "Śekhara" and was honoured by the public with the title "Vidvanmukuṭaratna", for his profound erudition. He was first among the pupils of the famous Nīlakaṇṭhaśāstri Thatte, the "Pāṇini" of Poona; and Vāsudevaśāstri who was fourth in this line of teacher and pupil may be fittingly honoured with the title of the "Patañjali" of Mahārāṣṭra, not only because the study of grammar received a vigorous impetus through *his* pupils who were in charge of the numerous Pāṭhaśālās in Mahārāstra, but also because he undertook and completed in his old age the stupendous task of translating the Mahābhāsya in Marathi and dedicated it to the people of Mahārāstra through the D. E. Society on the occasion of the celebration of his 76th birth day.

Vāsudevaśāstri lost his father when he was just a year old, and his grand-father when he was seven. So his guru Rāmaśāstri Godbole undertook the task of looking to the education of Vāsudevaśāstri, a task he performed with such thorough zeal and devotion that the late Mahāmahopādhyāya could ill conceal the tears of gratitude in his eyes, whenever he had occasion to refer to his guru. He imparted all his deep learning to this more than a pupil and sent him to Poona with his blessings in the year 1891 where through the good offices of the late Justice Ranade, he was introduced to the management of the Furgusson College and was appointed a Śāstri at the College to strengthen the department of Sanskrit which was severly crippled through the loss in 1892 of Principal Vaman Shivaram Apte. His association with the College for over fifty years shed lustre over the College as a seat of Sanskrit learning. He was truly the Professors' Professor and used to explain all their difficulties in the various Śāstras. He bore his profound erudition with such grace, diginty and humility, that it never repelled his pupils but attracted them more and more to him.

In recognition of his service to the cause of learning, he was honoured with the title of "Mahāmahopādhyāya" by the

Imperial Government in the year 1921. His numerous admirers and pupils from all parts of Mahārāṣṭra celebrated his 76th birth-day in a manner worthy of so great an occasion; the then Prime-minister of the Bombay Presidency presided over the celebrations; he announced the publication of the 1st Volume of the translation in Marathi of the Pātañjala-mahābhāṣya, a work which the Mahāmahopādhyāya presented to the Fergusson College as a token of his loving regard for that Institution. Two volumes out of the projected five have already seen the light of day, and the remaining three together with the learned introduction will soon be published. It was the hope of the promoters of the project that the whole work would be printed and published during its author's life-time; but that was not to be! and to the eternal regret of all lovers of Sanskrit, a light passed away from the world, leaving it to grope its way through the fog and darkness of ignorance.

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya's connection with the Bhandarkar Institute dates from the very foundation of the Institute; he was elected honorary member of the Institute, and was also for over two decades a member of its Regulating Council. He edited numerous texts for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, and also wrote many original works and commentaries. Sanskrit learning has sustained a heavy blow by his death, which creates a gap among the ranks of Sanskritists which it would be very difficult to fill in the near future. May his soul rest in peace!

C. R. Devadhar

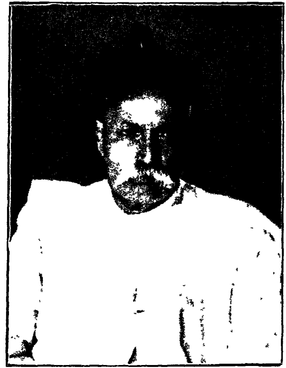
DR. NARAHAR GOPAL SARDESAI, L. M. & S.

17th August 1873 — 22nd January 1943

There is no Orientalist in India or outside who has not heard of the name of Dr. N. G. Sardesai, the famous founder of the Oriental Book Agency of Poona. In view of his lasting services to Sanskrit learning for the last quarter of a century by the publication of no less than 82 volumes of his *Poona Oriental Series* and the *Poona Orientalist* now running its 7th Volume, Dr. Sardesai's sad demise on 22nd January 1943 will be deeply mourned by all lovers of Sanskrit learning.



**Mahamahopadhyaya
Vasudevshastri
Abhyankar**



Dr. N. G. Sardesai

Dr. Sardesai was born at Sākhrī in Kolhapur State on 17th August 1873. He received his early education at Pandharpur and later in the New English School of Poona from which he passed his Matriculation Examination in 1892. In 1893 he joined the Grant Medical College Bombay, but had to leave the medical course for a couple of years for want of funds. Finally he passed his L. M. & S. examination in 1902 and served as Medical Officer at Pandharpur during the Plague Epidemic of 1901-1902. From 1903 to 1907 he worked as a private medical practitioner at Yeotmal in Berar and between 1908 and 1910 he served as Assistant-Surgeon at Penang (Straits Settlements). He was Chief Medical Officer at Ichalkaranji between 1911-1912. The writer of this note first made the acquaintance of Dr. Sardesai at this time through a common friend the late Mr. Vinayak Gopal Joshi. This acquaintance deepened into friendship which lasted from 1913 upto 1943, a period of 30 years during which Dr. Sardesai settled and worked in Poona as a medical practitioner and as the Proprietor of his Oriental Book Agency.

The interest of Dr. Sardesai in Sanskrit learning may be traced to the religious bent of his father's mind as also that of his aunt Mrs. Radhabai Padhye who belonged to the family of Kāśīnāthabhaṭṭa Pādhye the author of the celebrated *Dharmasindhu*. This interest was further developed by the contact of Sanskrit scholars like Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. P. D. Gune and Prof. R. D. Ranade, who took active part in founding the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute between 1915 and 1917. He worked whole-heartedly with these scholars in the early years of the history of the Institute, being its first Treasurer between 1915 to 1921 and member of its Regulating Council for different periods. He became the Vice-Patron of the Institute at its very inception and had helped the activities of the Institute in its infancy by advancing a loan of Rs. 15000 at a low rate of interest. He was a friend of scholars and met their scholarly needs by publishing their works, which were not likely to bring him any immediate profit. To invest capital in such publication activity continuously was almost a game of patience for Dr. Sardesai in spite of his enterprise, indefatigable industry, cautiousness and other qualities which made him a successful business man even in a line which was shunned by ordinary publishers on account of its financial risks.

Dr. Sardesai had special interest in the Āyurveda, Heredity and Eugenics, besides his interest in Sanskrit learning generally. He is the author of some papers on the subjects of his interest. Recently he published an edition of the *Amarakośa* with the commentary of Ksīrasvāmin jointly with his friends Mr. G. D. Padhye and Dr. H. D. Sharma, who unfortunately died on 11th September 1942 but who had helped Dr. Sardesai in many of his publications during the last 10 years. Dr. Sardesai had a great love for travel. In 1911 he travelled to Java and Sumatra with the Chiefsaheb of Ichalkaranji and brought with him copies of the Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In 1927 he made a trip to Mount Kailāsa and the Mānasa Lake. This trip was the result of his reading of Dr. Sven Hedin's *Trans Himalayas*. Dr. Sardesai had nothing but admiration for all genuine scholarly work. The writer of this note still remembers how in 1940 he approached him and Dr. S.M. Katre for organizing a commemoration Volume in honour of Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane and how quickly he purchased the necessary paper for this volume inspite of the heavy cost of paper and printing involved in this project. The Editors lost no time in meeting Dr. Sardesai's wishes and brought out a volume worthy of the great scholar in May 1941.

It is a matter for satisfaction to note that Dr. Sardesai leaves behind him capable sons, the elder one Dr. R. N. Sardesai L.C.P.S. is now looking after his father's Oriental Book Agency. He obtained the Alexander von Humboldt scholarship for medical studies in Germany between 1936 and 1938 and has profited by his stay in Germany, a country which has specialized in Oriental publications. The younger son Mr. V. N. Sardesai, M.A., I.C.S., Bar-at-Law, is now District Judge at Dhulia. He passed the I. C. S. examination in 1928 and the M. A. examination of the University of London in 1929. Oriental scholars may confidently hope that these worthy sons of a worthy father would not only maintain their interest in Oriental publications in the manner of their father but would develop it in new channels to suit the growing interests of Indology in this country and outside.

P. K. Gode

Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

It is with a profound sense of grief that we record the demise of Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, President of the Pali Text Society, who passed away on the 26th June 1942. Since the death of her husband, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, on 27th Dec. 1922, she had ably filled in the post. She was a pupil of Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, whom she married in 1894. Since her marriage, she abundantly helped her husband in his scholarly pursuits. To her philosophical temperament, Buddhist Abhidhamma covering the studies of psychology and ethical philosophy appealed most. For the Pali Text Society, she has edited Vibhaṅga, Yamaka, Paṭṭhāna with Commentary and Visuddhimagga. She has also made available to us several books in English translation in her "Psalms of the Early Buddhists" (transl. of Thera-and Therīgāthā), "The Book of Kindred Sayings" (transl. of the Samyuttanikāya, vols. I & II), "Buddhist Psychology" (transl. of Dhammasangani), "Minor Anthologies" (transl. of Dhammapada and Khuddakapāṭha); and also in collaboration with other scholars, "Compendium of Philosophy" (transl. of Abhidhammatthasangaha) and "Points of Controversy" (transl. of Kathāvatthu). We also owe to her Index of Saṃyuttanikāya as well as of Majjhima-nikāya. Her manuals like "Buddhism," "Buddhist Psychology", "A Manual of Buddhism for Advanced Students" are well-known to all students of Buddhist philosophy and religion. The last-mentioned book along with her "Sakya, or Buddhist Origins" reveal a change that had come over her, during the last few years, in her attitude to the Buddhist teaching as revealed in the Pali texts. In one of her numerous contributions to scholarly journals, she even goes to the length of complaining that her changed point-of-view is not yet sufficiently appreciated by scholars or workers in that field.

She was connected with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, since 1931, when she was elected an Honorary Member of the Institute. In her latest contribution to the Silver Jubilee Volume, she gives expression (pp. 80-83) to her sore dis-appoint-

ment and depression that had come over her. Her heart seemed to have been broken at the depleted resources of the Pali Text Society, and at the still more ghastly incident of all the reserve stocks of the Pali Text Society being burnt up by a terrible misaimed German bomb. She, also, seemed to be conscious of her approaching death when she says in the above-mentioned article (p. 83) " It is not likely I shall be here to write FINIS to our work. " She also expresses the agony she felt at just missing the completion of the task of the Pali Text Society by a few volumes (6 or 8) and for leaving the work of Pali Concordance half-finished.

There is no doubt that we have lost a great scholar-champion of early Buddhism in Europe. There is however a hope that her successor, Miss. I. B. Horner, M.A., will soon be able to fill in the gap.

P. V. Bapat

IN MEMORIAM

The undersigned recently read, with a sense of grave personal loss, the very sad news of the unexpected and premature demise, in New York, of his *Guru*, Professor Dr. Heinrich Zimmer. Prof. Zimmer was one of the most distinguished pupils of Prof. Lüders. He worked as Extraordinary Professor of Indology in the University of Heidelberg till 1939, in which year, owing to unfavourable political conditions, he had to run away from his Fatherland. He first went to Oxford where, for a short time, he worked as a Guest-Professor. Then he proceeded to the United States of America and was appointed a visiting Professor of Indic Studies in the Columbia University. He continued to work in that capacity till the time of his sad death.

Like his father (Prof. Zimmer, the author of that monumental work, " Altindisches Leben "), Professor Zimmer had made a deep study of Sanskrit literature and Indian Philosophy. He possessed quite a remarkable insight into things Indian. Even a casual talk with him would make this trait of his scholar-

ship sufficiently clear. Through his learned translations of difficult Sanskrit texts and, more particularly, through his original work in the field of iconography and Indian Mythology, Professor Zimmer has made his mark in the world of scholars. Prominent among his many outstanding contributions to Indological Studies are " MĀYĀ, der indische Mythos ", " Ewiges Indien ", " Anbetung mir " and " Spiel um Elephanten ".

In Professor Zimmer, death has snatched away a leading member of the Faculty of Indology in Germany.

R. N. D.

While we go to press we have to perform the sad duty of recording the great loss which Indology in the West has recently suffered through the demise of another eminent Sanskritist in Europe. Professor E. H. Johnston, who succeeded Prof. F. W. Thomas as Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford in 1937, died in October 1942. His contributions to Sanskrit Studies include " Early Sāṁkhya", and the English translations of Aśvaghosa's " Buddhacarita ", and "Saundarananda". His learned reviews of Indological works, which often appeared in the pages of the J. R. A. S., were always indicative of his precise scholarship.

--Ed.

रसायनं रसानां षण्णां अयनं स्थानम् ॥ (१३) **षडायतां** शृङ्गपुच्छसक्थि-सक्थिस्तनाशिरोग्रीवासु आयतां दीर्घाम् । **पृथुभिः पञ्चभिः** उरः पृष्ठशिरः कुक्षि-श्रोणीभिः **समावृतां** परिवेष्टिताम् । **मण्डूकस्य इव उन्नते नेत्रे** यस्याः । **ऊधः** पयोधरमण्डलम् ॥ (१४) **वालधिः** पुच्छम् । **शङ्कुकर्णा** शङ्कुवत् सूक्ष्मौ कर्णौ यस्याः । **पुष्टायतशिरोग्रीवा पुष्टं** पीनं आयतं दीर्घं **शिरो ग्रीवा** यस्याः। आयतमिति पुनरुक्तिरर्थस्य पुष्टिमाह ॥ (१८) **वीर्यं** वीरस्य भावः ॥ (२२) **कशादण्डैः** चर्मयष्टिभिः । **हंभा** इति गवां ध्वनेरनुकरणम् ॥ (२४) **क्षमा-वान्** प्रतिकारबुद्धेरनुत्पादवान् ॥ (२६) **पाषाणदण्डाभिहतां** पाषाणैः दण्डै-श्चाभिहताम् ॥ (२७) **न चुक्षुभे** न क्रुद्धवान् । धीरस्य भावो **धैर्यं** निर्वि-कारता ॥ (३१) **ऊर्ध्वाञ्चितं** उन्नमितम् ॥ (३३) **काल्यमाना** प्रेर्य-माणा ॥ (३५) **शकृतो** गोमयात् ॥ (३९) **ते** नन्दिनीसमुद्भूताः ॥ (४१) **निर्विण्णः** विरक्तः ॥ (४४) **विष्टभ्य** व्याप्य । **सुतं** पवित्रम् ॥

[१६६]

(1777*) **याज्यः** शिष्यः तस्य **अर्थः** प्रयोजनं यागः ॥ (३) **एकायनगतः** एकरथगतः ॥ (४) **प्रतिमुखागतं** संमुखम् ॥ (६) **धर्मपथे** धर्ममार्गे । उत्तमानामधमं दृष्ट्वा मार्गोत्यागस्य शिष्टाचारप्राप्तत्वात् । **मुने-र्मानात्** मुनेरहंकारात् राज्ञा समारोपितात् । **क्रोधाच्च** स्वगतात् ॥ (९) **पुरुषादः** राक्षसः ॥ (१०) **वीर्यं** तपसि प्रयत्नः तदेव **शक्तिः** यस्य ॥ (११) **याज्यो** यजमानः । **अन्वपद्यत** वसिष्ठं लक्ष्यीकृत्य गतवान् ॥ (१२) **तयोः** शक्तिसौदासयोः । तौ शक्तिसौदासौ । **उपचक्रमे** उपक्रमं कृतवान् । शक्तिं प्रति राक्षसं प्रेरयितुम् ॥ (२१) मित्राणि सहते पालयति **मित्रसहः । आस्स्व** तिष्ठ ॥ (२४) **सूदं** सूपकारम् । **प्रतिश्रुतं** प्रतिज्ञातम् ॥ (२६) **व्यथान्वितः** मांसं नास्तीति दुःखितः ॥ (२८) **संस्थानं** गृहम् । **वध्य-घातिनां** सापराधनरघातिनाम् ॥ (२९) **अपिहितं** पिहितम् ॥ (३०)

१ B ९१. b पर्ले (?). २ Ed त्रिपृथुं पञ्चसंवृता (for पृथुपञ्चसमावृतां). ३ C om लक्ष्मी. ४ C विषिक्तः. ५ C अभिमुखागतं. ६ C om क्रोधाच्च स्वगतात्. ७ Mss अनुपद्यत (corrupt). ८ C दुःखान्वितः. ९ Ed उपहितं.

सिद्धचक्षुषा दिव्यज्ञानेन ॥ (३१) **लोलुपा** लम्पटत्वम् ॥ (३२) **सक्तः** आसक्तः ॥ (३३) **द्विरनुव्याहृतो**[1] द्विरुक्तः । शक्तिनो[2] भोजनार्थिना विप्रेण च । **विसंज्ञो** विगतज्ञानः ॥ (३५) **त्वत्तः** त्वामेवाधिकृत्य ॥ (४३) **इद्ध्वा** प्रज्वाल्य ॥

[१६७]

(११) **संगत्या** संनिधानेन ॥ (१२) **अर्हे**[3] पूर्व्यम् ॥

[१६८]

(१०) **निर्देशे**[5] आज्ञायाम्[6] ॥ (१४) **पुरँवरं** नगरम् ॥

[१६९]

(१) **आश्रमस्था ततः पुत्रमदृश्यन्ती व्यजायत ।**

इत्यादेः

(अ० १७२–१७) **भक्षयन्दृश्यते वह्निः सदा पर्वणि पर्वणि ।**

इत्यन्तस्य क्षमासाराणां ब्राह्मणानां सर्वतेजसामुपरि वर्तमानं तेजः कुतोऽपि गुणदोषादुपचारादिकुर्वाणं त्रैलोक्यदहनक्षमं केनापि दुरुपसंहारं तैरेव स्वभावोन्मीलत्करुणरसैः पुनराश्रितमैत्रिकैः क्षमाप्रहरणैरुपसंहर्तुं शक्यते । तस्माद्भविष्णुभिर्ब्राह्मणा माननीया इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (३) **परासुः** गतासुरिव **गर्भस्थेन** एव जीविते **स्थापित** इति तस्य **पराशरसंज्ञा** ॥ (८) **आर्यः** पितामहः ॥ (९) लोकन्ते[11] पश्यन्तीति **लोकाः** ॥ (१२) अग्रे भुञ्जत इति **अग्रभुजः** ॥ (१३) **तत्कुलेयानां** तत्कुले भवानाम् ॥ (१४) **याचिष्णवः** याचनशीलाः ॥ (१६) **कारणान्तरात्**[12] चिरजीवननिर्वेदात् ॥ (२१) **मुष्णन्** खण्डयन् ॥

१ Ed °व्याहृते. २ Mss शक्त्रि (for शक्ति). ३ Ed अर्हं त्वदृश्यती (for अर्हाहमित्यदृश्यंती). ४ After this Mss ins स्रावं गर्भस्रावम्. ५ C निर्देशे. ६ B b आज्ञापालने. ७ b om पुरवरं. C पैाढर्न (?). ८ C नरिष्णुभि. (?). ९ C om ब्राह्मणाः. १० After this Mss ins एणन्ति हिंसन्तीति सर्वा राक्षसाः त एव. ११ B b लोकान्. १२ Ed कारणान्तरदर्शनात्.

[१७०]

(१) **तात** इति जात्यपेक्षया ॥ (६) **याचध्वं** इति शक्त्यपेक्षया[1] ॥ (११) **अपचितिं** पूजाम् ॥ (१४) **नियच्छ** निवारय ॥ (१६) **प्रकृष्टतमेन**[2] बहुलतमेन । **क्षत्रियैः** हेतुभिः ॥ (1789*) **धनाध्यक्षः** कुबेरः ॥

[१७१]

(२) रोषकृता प्रतिज्ञा **रोषप्रतिज्ञा** । **गर्भः**[3] अरणेः **अग्निः** ॥ (३) **नालं** न समर्थः ॥ (४) **स्थाने** युक्तम् ॥ (७) **पूर्णकोशाः**[4] पूर्णभाण्डागाराः । **परायणं** शरणम् ॥ (११) **तेनैव** पाप**कर्मणा** ॥ (१३) **समभिवर्तितुं**[5] कर्तुम् ॥ (२१) **वरुणालये** समुद्रे ॥

[१७२]

(४) **मा भाङ्क्षं** मा भञ्जेयम् ॥ (८) **समापिपयिषुः** समापयितुमिच्छुः ॥ (११) **अपाविद्धं** विघ्नाभावैः ॥ (१३) **शक्त्यवरजाः**[7] शक्तिकनिष्ठाः ॥

[१७३]

(१) **राज्ञा कल्माषपादेन गुरौ ब्रह्मविदां वरे ।**

इत्यादेः

(२४) **स्वदारे भरतश्रेष्ठ शापदोषसमन्वितः ।**

इत्यन्तस्य ब्रह्मशापस्य दुरतिक्रमणीयता तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (२) **लोकस्येदं लौकयर्थं**[8] । **अगम्या** वसिष्ठाभार्यात्वात्[9] ॥ (३) **अमित्रसहं**[10] कल्माषपादम् ॥ (७) **संनादः नादः**[11] ॥

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१ C om याचध्वमिति शक्त्यपेक्षया. २ Ed हि प्रकृष्टेन. ३ Ed अग्निः. ४ Ed आपूर्णकोशाः. ५ Ed समभिवर्तितुम्. C समभिवर्द्धितुम्. ६ After this Mss ins अपक्रमः तद्वापकार्ये (स्वकार्ये) पितृलक्षणे कोपकरणात्. ७ Ed ये च शक्त्यवराः. ८ Ed लोक्यं. ९ B b शिष्टाभार्यत्वात् (?). C शिष्टभार्या. १० B b मित्रसहः. C कोमित्र° (?). ११ C om संनादो नादः.

[१७४]

(१) **अस्माकमनुरूपो वै यः स्याद्गन्धर्ववेदवित् ।**

इत्यादेः

(१२) **मेनिरे सहिता गन्तुं पाञ्चाल्यास्तं स्वयंवरम् ।**

इत्यन्तस्य पुरोहितपरिग्रहः तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (७) **प्रतिजग्राह** स्वीकृतवान् ॥ (८) **आशंसिरे** आशंसां कृतवन्तः ॥ (९) **मातृषष्ठाः** माता षष्ठी येषाम् ॥

[१७५]

(१) **ततस्ते कुरुशार्दूला[१] भ्रातरः पञ्च पाण्डवाः ।**

इत्यादेः

(अ० १९०-१८) **विजह्रुरिन्द्रप्रतिमा महाबलाः**
पुरे स्म[२] पाञ्चालनृपस्य तस्य ह ।

इत्यन्तस्य क्षत्रतेजसा[३] सर्वान् दोर्दर्पभूयः (?) अभिभूय[४] पाञ्चालीं धर्मपत्नीं पाण्डवास्तत्रापि च तदन्तर्गतपञ्चेन्द्रोपाख्यानतात्पर्यभूतेन नारायणमहेश्वरस्थापितेन एकस्याः पञ्चभर्तृत्वलक्षणेन पुराराधेन धर्मेणासादितवन्तः इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (१) **देवमहोत्सवः** स्वयंवरः ॥ (३) **कुतः** कस्मिन्[५] ॥ (५) **भविता** भविष्यति ॥ **माया** मायायुद्धम् ॥ (१६) **वैतालिकाः** मङ्गलपाठकाः । **सूताः** प्रबोधकाः । **मागधाः** स्तुतिपाठकाः । **नियोधकाः** मल्लाः ॥

[१७६]

(३) **क्षयं** गृहम् ॥ (५) **आनुपूर्व्येण** क्रमेण ॥ (६) **स्कन्धावारं** सेनानिवेशम् ॥ (७) **न जज्ञिरे** न ज्ञातवन्तः ॥ (८) **विवृणोति** प्रकाशयति ॥ (९) **अनामर्ष्यं**[६] नामयितुं अशक्यम् ॥ (१०) **वैहायसं** गगनगम् ॥ (१८) **परार्ध्यागुरुः** कृष्णागुरुः ॥ (२२) **असंबाधः**

१ Ed नरशार्दूला. २ Ed पुरे तु. B b प्रपंदश्य. ३ C ज्ञानेन तेजसा. ४ B b दोर्दर्पभूनोभिभूत (?). C दोर्द्दर्पभूयोभिभूय. ५ After this Mss ins एते ग्रयम्. ६ Ed. अनायम्यं.

असंकटः ॥ (२६) **परार्ध्येषु** उत्कृष्टेषु ॥ (२७) **ऋद्धिं** विभूतिम् ॥ (३०) **वीरकांस्यं** माल्लाम् ॥ (३४) **खगमैः** शरैः । **दशार्धैः** पञ्चभिः ॥

[१७८]

(३) **संकल्पजेन** कामेन ॥ (१५) **संहननाय** शत्रुवधाय **उपपन्नं** युक्तम् ॥ (१८) **विक्षिप्तवादेषु**[1] विगतक्षेपवादेषु ॥

[१७९]

(२) **उदक्रोशन्** कोलाहलमकुर्वन् । **इन्द्रकेतुः** इन्द्रध्वजः ॥ (६) **अवहास्या** हास्यपात्रम् ॥ (७) **मा गमः**[2] मा गच्छ ॥ (११) **संस्थानचारिषु** मरणधर्मकेषु ॥ (१४) **अभ्याशे** समीपे ॥ (१८) **चेलावधूतं**[3] वस्त्रभ्रमणम् । **हाहाकारान्** अद्भुतजयान् ॥ (१९) **शताङ्गानि** शतभेदानि ॥ (२१) मा जानीरयुरस्मान् जना इति **आवासगमनकारणम्** ॥ (२२) **उत्स्मयन्ती** प्रहर्षन्ती ॥

[१८०]

(३) **वृद्धत्वं** संख्यापेक्षया ॥ (५) **समावाये** समूहे । **संनये** सभायाम् ॥ (१२) **शरावापं** धनुः ॥ (१३) **प्रतीयतुः** संमुखौ बभूवतुः ॥

[१८१]

(४) **शुल्कं** पणः ॥ (१६) **हरिहयः** इन्द्रः ॥ (२०) **विष्ठितो**[4] विशेषेण स्थितः ॥ (२१) **अजेय्यं**[5] अजेयम् ॥ (1878*) **प्रकर्षणं** प्रक्षेपणम् । **आकर्षणं** अभिमुखानयनम् । **अभ्याकर्षणं** सर्वतः कर्षणम् । **विकर्षणं** दूरं नीत्वा पुनराकर्षणम् ॥ (२४) **न्यवधीत्** पातयामास ॥ (३१) **अपहारः**[6] निवर्तनसंज्ञा ॥ (1883*) **अत्यन्यान्** अन्यानतिक्रान्तान् ॥ (३६) **क्षतौ** विद्धौ । **विक्षतौ**[7] छिन्नौ ॥

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१ Ed निक्षिप्त°. २ Ed गमत्. ३ Ed चेलाविधास्तनः. ४ Ed निष्ठितः. ५ B असज्जं. b आसज्यं. ६ Ed अवहारः. ७ Ed परिविक्षतौ.

[१८३]

(१) **भार्गवः** कुलालः 'भ्रस्ज् पाके' इत्यस्मात् ॥ (५) **न उपवर्तेत** न समाक्रामेत् ॥ (८) **निवेश्यः** विवाह्यः ॥

[१८४]

(६) **संहननेन** दार्ढ्येन ॥ (७) **अवजह्रुः** नीतवन्तः ॥ (९) **अगस्त्येन शान्ता**[2] शमिता विन्ध्यवृद्ध्याद्युपद्रवाः । **पुरस्तात्** अग्रतः । **तिरश्च** इति तिर्यक् । **पात्तैः**[3] पश्चानां पादाना प्रति । पाच्छब्दः पादपर्यायः ॥ (१०) **पादाः उपधानं** शिरःस्थानं यस्याः । **कुशेषु** कुशशयनेषु । **कृता** स्थापिता ॥ (११) **पृतनायां** सेनायां **अधिकारः** प्रयोजनं यासाम् ॥ (१३) **वृत्तं** दृष्टचरितम् । पृथग् निवेदितं **कथितम्** ॥ (१४) **अप्रतिविन्दमानः** प्रतिपत्तिरूपं लाभमलभमानः ॥ (१५) **करदेन** सिद्धादायदात्रा । **निदिग्धं** विनिहितम् । **दिग्धं** लिप्तम् ॥ (१६) **सवर्णप्रवरः** अस्मत्समानवर्णज्येष्ठः क्षत्रिय इति यावत् । **उद्रिक्तवर्णः** ब्राह्मणः । **अभिमर्शेन** हरणेन ॥ (१७) **यक्ष्ये** मोदे । **प्रतीतो** हृष्टः ॥

[१८५]

(१) **प्रबर्हः** उत्तमः ॥ (२) **व्यायतलोहिताक्षः** विपुले आयते लोहिते अक्षिणी यस्य ॥ (३) **असज्जमानः** अलग्नैः । **वज्री** इन्द्रः । **जुष्टः** सेवितः ॥ (५) **महीप्ररोहः** वृक्षः ॥ (९) **परिविश्य** दत्वा । **ब्राह्मणसात्** ब्राह्मणवशम् ॥ (२५) सोमस्यापत्यं **सौमकिः** ॥

[१८६]

(१) **जन्यार्थं** दुहितुः पर्यर्थम् ॥ (२) **परैत** आगच्छत । **निवेशनं** गृहम् ॥ (३) **प्रयास्य**[11] प्रस्थाप्य ॥ (१०) **गूढोत्तरांसान्**

१ b C om भ्रस्ज् पाके इत्यस्मात्. २ Ed °शाम्ना ३ Ed पत्त., ४ C कथयामि. ५ Mss consider also the reading °ने न दिग्धं. ६ Ed स्वायत°. ७ C असज्जमान: अस्पर्शनः. ८ C om जुष्टः सेवितः. ९ Ed परिविश्य. १० After this Mss ins नरदेवो राजा. ११ Ed प्रयाप्य. C प्रथाप्य.

मांसलांसान् ॥ (१३) **उच्चावचं** नानाविधम् ॥ (१४) **सांग्रामिकानि शस्त्राणि** ॥

[१८७]

(१) **ब्राह्मेण परिग्रहेण** दक्षिणाङ्गुष्ठप्रग्रहणेन[1] ॥ (३) **उत** वितर्के ॥ (५) **संशयस्यान्ते** संशयछेदे ॥ (७) **आस्थास्यामि** आदरं करिष्यामि ॥ (८) **कामः** इच्छा ॥ (१०) **व्येतु** व्यपगच्छतु ॥ (११) **परायणं** शरणम् ॥ (२३) **अनिविष्टः** अविवाहितः ॥ (२६) **पुंसः** पुमांसः ॥ (२८) **अनुयामहे** अनुगच्छामः ॥

[१८८]

(१) **विप्रलब्धे** विरुद्धे ॥ (९) **व्यवसायं** निश्चयम् ॥ (१०) **अभिवर्तेत** अभिगच्छेत् ॥ (१४) **उद्वाहितवती**[2] विवाहितवती ॥

[१८९]

(१-२) संयच्छतीति संयत् **यमः** मित्रो रविः तयोरर्थे एको **दीक्षितः** शमित्रः तस्येदं कर्म **शामित्रम्**[3] । **कालातिपातात्** यमातिक्रमात् ॥ (१०) **शूरः** समर्थः ॥ (१३) **द्रष्टासि** द्रक्ष्यसि ॥ (१४) **आरात्** समीपे ॥ (१५) **विश्वं** सर्वम् ॥ (१६) **संस्तम्भितः** निःस्पन्दः ॥ (१७) **पर्याप्तं** समार्थम्[4] । आत्मन्यविद्यमानगुणारोपो **दर्पः** ॥ (१८) **स्रस्तैः** विकलैः॥ (१९) **विवर्तय** पारय । **बलं** शक्तिः । **वीर्यं**[5] फलपर्यन्ता शक्तिः ॥ (२१) **बाल्यात्** मौर्ख्यात् ॥ (२२) **आभिषङ्गात्** क्रोधात् ॥ (२३) **उग्रं** रुद्रम् । **द्रष्टाशेषस्य**[6] सर्वज्ञः[7] । **भवः** ईशः । **आद्यः** आदौ भवः ॥ (२४) **उग्रवर्चाः**[8] उग्रतेजाः । **एवंशीलाः** साहंकाराः । **भवितारो** बभूवुः भूते[9] भविष्यत्प्रयोगात् । **पुरस्तात्** पूर्वम् । अथवा **एवं भवितार** इत्यस्य त्वत्समा

१ C om दक्षिणाङ्गुष्ठप्रग्रहणेन. २ Ed अध्यासितवती. ३ C सावित्रं. ४ After this B b ins स्पंदमानः, C ins सुकुमारा. ५ C om from वीर्यं up to शक्तिः. ६ Ed द्रष्टा शेषस्य. ७ After this B b ins अशेषे सर्वत्र. ८ Ed उग्रधन्वा. ९ B b om भूते भविष्यत्प्रयोगात्.

इत्यर्थः ॥ (२५) अविषह्यं परेण सोढुमशक्यम् ॥ (२७) दुराधरो दुर्लभः । यत्र मर्त्यलोके विहितः इत्यन्वयः ॥ (२८) कर्महेतोः[१] भू-भारावतारणहेतोः ॥ (२९) उग्रधन्वा पिनाकी ॥ (३१) उद्बबर्ह उद्धृतवान् ॥ (३७) पृषत्या अपत्यं पार्षती द्रौपदी ॥

[१९०]

(२) दिष्टस्य दैवस्य । ग्रन्थिः सन्धिः । कृतं कर्म । वर एव एकः हेतुः ॥ (३) नैकान् अनेकान् ॥ (४) यथोपजोषं यथासुखम् ॥ (६) जन्यो जामाता ॥ (८) अजिरं अङ्गणम् ॥

[१९१]

(१) पाण्डवैः सह संयोगं गतस्य द्रुपदस्य तु ।

इत्यादेः

(१९) मुदा परमया युक्तो गोविन्दप्रियकाम्यया ।

इत्यन्तस्य पुरुषधौरेयैः पाण्डवैः सह कृतसंबन्धस्य[२] द्रुपदस्य के नाम भूमिपतयः त्रिलोकीपतेरिन्द्रादपि भयं नास्ति इति स्त्रीरत्नेन कृष्णया च संयुक्तानां पाण्डवानां लक्ष्मीप्रभावोपनीतैर्धनैरहरहः पूर्यन्ते मन्दिराणीति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (३) क्षौमं पट्टवस्त्रम् । कृते कौतुकमङ्गले यस्याः । कौतुकं आश्चर्यम् । मङ्गलं शुभम् ॥ (६) भद्रा श्रीः ॥ (९) नृपतिं अनु पश्चात् । अभिषिच्यस्व अभिषेकं प्राप्नुहि ॥ (११) शरदः[३] शतं वर्षाणां शतम् ॥ (११) सूतपुत्रां जातपुत्राम् ॥ (१८) अकृतकं अपद्रव्यहीनम् ॥

[१९२]

(१) ततो राज्ञश्चरैराप्तैश्चारः समुपनीयत ।

इत्यादेः

(२४) नित्यं भवतु ते बुद्धिरेषा राजन् शतं समाः ।

इत्यन्तस्य द्रौपदीपाणिग्रहणसमये भीमार्जुनयोरद्भुतं कर्म दृष्ट्वा संशयितचेतसां

१ Ed कार्महेतोः. C धर्महेतोः. २ C संबन्धः. ३ Ed शरदा. ४ Ed राज्ञः.

महीभुजां चारद्वारा पाण्डवज्ञानं[1] तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (१) **चारो** वार्ता ॥ (४) **धृतात्मनः** धैर्यस्थापितात्मनः[2] ॥ (९) **मातुलेन** शकुनिना ॥ (१२) **धरन्ति** जीवन्ति । **हरन्ति** इति यावत् । द्रौपदीमिति शेषः ॥ (२३) **क्षत्तः हे** विदुर । **भवेन** विभूत्या ॥

(२५) ततो दुर्योधनश्चैव राधेयश्च विशांपते ।

इत्यादेः

(अ० १९८–६) दिष्ट्या मम महद्[3] दुःखमपनीतं महाद्युते ।

इत्यन्तस्य दुर्योधनकर्णयोस्तामसं कुलोच्छेदकरं मतमवज्ञाय भीष्मद्रोणयोस्तु तदन्वये विशुद्धं कुरुपाण्डवानां सर्वमहीभुजां च श्रेयस्करं मन्त्रं मधुराभिर्वाग्भिः सोपपत्तिभिर्धृतराष्ट्रं विदुरो ग्राहयामास । गृहीतमन्त्रश्च धृतराष्ट्रः कृतार्थमात्मानं मन्यमानः तदनुष्ठातुं प्रवृत्त इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥

[१९३]

(१) **विवेक्तुं** पृथक्कर्तुम् । **आकारं** भावसूचकं मुखादिविकारम् ॥ (२) **इङ्गितैः** इङ्गितसूचकैर्वागादिविकारैः । **लिङ्गैः** लिङ्गयुपचारात् ॥ (४) शोभनं कृतं कर्म येषां तैः **सुकृतैः** । **आप्ताः** तत्त्वज्ञानकारुण्यवन्तः तद्वत्**करण**-शीलैः ॥ (९) **व्युत्थापयन्तु** निन्दन्तु । **बहुत्वात्** पतीनां । यद्येकस्मान्न भिद्येत द्वितीयादेव भिद्येतापीति **सुकरत्वं** उक्तम् ॥ (1960*) **न संमन्यते**[4] न सम्यक्तया गणयति । **तीक्ष्णः** कोपनः । **मूढः**[5] अविवेकः ॥ (१२) **न पादभाक्** न चतुर्थांशभाक् ॥ (१३) **जानमानाः** जानाना[6]ः । **भीमसेनं महीं च** । **ऋते** विना । **नशिष्यन्ति** मरणेन पलायनेन वा ॥ (१४) **निबर्हणे** मारणे ॥ (१६) **लोप्त्रहारैः** वल्लीचोरैः ॥ (१७) **पुरा** अग्रतः ॥

[१९४]

(२) **सूक्ष्मैः**[7] दुर्विज्ञेयैः । **न क्षताः**[8] न हताः ॥ (४) **अच्युत पौरुषादेरचलित** ॥ (५) **दिष्टेन** दैवेन **कृताः** । न विद्यते पुरुष एवेति

१ B b पाण्डवतत्त्वज्ञानं. २ Ed महात्मनः. ३ Ed परं. ४ Ed न मन्यते. ५ Ed शूरः (for मूढः). ६ B b om जानाना. . ७ B b मू(? मू)ढैः. ८ Ed शकिताः (न क्षताः).

शेषः ॥ (७) **परिद्यूनान्** भैक्ष्यभुजः । **मृजावतो** मृषावतः ॥ (८) **एकस्या बहुभर्तृता स्त्रीणामीप्सितो गुणः** इत्यन्वयः ॥ (९) **आर्यव्रतः**[1] पण्डितव्रतः ॥ (१२) **लघुः** बालः ॥ (२०) **मधुरेण साम्ना** ॥

[१९५]

(१३) **न सकामो** न संपूर्णमनोरथः । अत्ययं विनाशं **गतः** इत्यर्थः ॥

[१९६]

(४) **मिथःकृत्यं** वधूवरयोः करणार्हम् । **वृद्धिः** लक्ष्मीवृद्धिः । **त्वत्संयोगोद्भवां**[2] त्वत्तो ब्रूयात् इत्यन्वयः ॥ (७) **शुभ्राणि** निर्दोषाणि ॥ (९) **सान्त्वं** मधुरम् ॥ (१२) **औपयिकं** उचितम् ॥ (१३) **अनन्तरौ** संनिहितौ ॥ (१५) **विधिपूर्वं** विहितम् ॥ (१८) **करणैः** उपकरणैः गजादिभिः । **उच्छ्वास** एव **परमं** कार्यं यस्य । **अमात्यसंस्थः** अमात्ये परवशः ॥ (१९) **एक** एव **ईश्वरः** ॥ (२३) **किमन्यद्** बहु कथ्यते । **विहिता** विधिप्राप्ता । **पुरुषेन्द्रता** नरेन्द्रता ॥ (२४) **मिषतः** जीवतः ॥

[१९७]

(६) **अनवमौ** उत्कृष्टौ ॥ (९) **जिह्मं** कुटिलम् ॥ (१०) **मेनाते** मितवन्तौ[3] ॥ (१३) **अन्तरस्थं** भेदस्थम् ॥ (२०) **रामः** बलभद्रः ॥

[१९८]

(७) **ततो जगाम विदुरो धृतराष्ट्रस्य शासनात् ।**

इत्यादेः

(अ० १९९–५०) **ययौ द्वारवतीं राजन् पाण्डवानुमते तदा ।**

इत्यन्तस्य विपाकोन्मुखेन पाण्डवानां धर्मेण त्रिलोकीकर्तुर्नारायणस्यांशं आत्म-

१ Ed आर्यवृत्तः. २ Ed तत्संयोगो°. C त्वत्संशयो°. ३ B b शेनाते गतवन्तौ (?).

सात्कृत्य दुर्योधनादिमतमधरीकृत्य पुरस्कृत्य विदुरमन्त्रं प्रवर्तितो धृतराष्ट्रः पाण्डवान् राज्ये स्थापितवानिति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (८) **संयुक्तं**[1] कृतसंबन्धम् ॥ (९) **प्रश्नसंविदं** प्रश्नालापम् ॥ (१०) **अनामयं** आरोग्यम् ॥ (१४) **विनयात्**[2] यथार्हायाः प्रवृत्तेः । **प्रसृतं**[3] लज्जादिभिरजडीकृतं यथा भवति ॥ (२०) संबन्धमेव **सांबन्धकम्**[4] ॥

[१९९]

(५) **परवन्तः** पराधीनाः ॥ (७) **प्राप्तकालं** उचितम् ॥ (९) **ध्यायति** चिन्तयति ॥ (११) **सविहारं** सक्रीडम् ॥ (१२) **प्रतिग्रहाय** प्रत्युत्थानाय ॥ (१५) **कौतूहलेन** दर्शनेच्छया ॥ (३१) **द्विपक्षानि** च तानि कपाटाभ्यां **गरुडप्रख्यानि** च तानि प्रस्थानकत्वात् ॥ (३२)**बलैः**[5] रक्षिभिः पुरुषैः । बलानां विशेषणं **अभ्यासिकैः**[6] इति । अभ्यस्यन्ते शरादीन्यस्त्राणि येभ्य उपायभूतैः ॥ (३४) **देवताबाधवर्जितं** दैवीभिरापद्भिर्वर्जितम् ॥ (३६) **धनाध्यक्षक्षयोपमं** कुबेरगृहोपमम् ॥ (३७) **भाषा** संस्कृतप्राकृतरूपा नानादेशीया वा ॥ (४४) **जगतिपर्वतैः** क्रीडापर्वतैः ॥ (४६) **बृहन्ति** बहूनि[7] । **महान्ति** महापरिमाणानि ॥ (४७) **पुण्यजनाः** धार्मिकाः । **श्वः श्वः**[8] प्रातः प्रातः ॥ (४८) **धर्मप्रणयनं** धर्मव्यवस्था ॥

[२००]

(१) **एवं संप्राप्य राज्यं तदिन्द्रप्रस्थे तपोधन ।**

इत्यादेः

(अ० २०४–३०) **न चाभिद्यन्त ते सर्वे तदान्योन्येन भारत ।**

इत्यन्तस्य बहूनामेकाङ्गनासंबन्धे सुन्दोपसुन्दोपाख्यानेन प्राणान्तिकं दोषं प्रतिपाद्य ' धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः '* इति न्यायेन विपाकाभिमुख[9]पाण्डवधर्मप्रेरितेन

१ C कृतसन्धानं युद्धं. २ Ed विनयान्वितः (for विनयात्ततः). ३ Ed प्रश्रितं. ४ Ed संबन्धकम्. ५ Ed नल्वैः, B नलैः (?). ६ After this B ins वर्तुलानि, C ins वर्तुलं. ७ C महाप्रमाणानि. ८ Ed शश्वत्. ९ B °पाकाभिमुखं पाण्डव°. b om from °पाण्डव° up to कारिता.

* Manusmrti, VIII, 15

तद्दोषप्रतीकारोपायं समयं नारदेन कारिता पाण्डवा इति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (९) **यदृच्छया** मनःप्रवृत्त्या ॥ (१४) **सुसंवीता** सुप्रीता ॥

[२०१]

(२३) **ऋते अन्योन्यं** अन्योऽन्यभाविक इति लोभ दोषोऽभूदिति ॥ (२४) **विधानं** प्रतिक्रिया । **वां** युवयोः ॥ (२९) **अकालकौमुदी** अमावास्यादितिथिष्वपि चन्द्रिकां कृतवन्तौ ॥ (३१) **तलनादितैः** करतालिकादिभिः ॥

[२०२]

(१) **उत्सवे** वरदानोत्सवे ॥ (२३) **निवृत्तविपणापणा** निवृत्तो विपणो वणिग्व्यवहारो आपणेषु यस्याम् ॥ (२५) **प्रतिभयाकारं** भयानकम् ॥

[२०३]

(५) **अजाः** अजातजन्मानः ॥ (१०) **प्रार्थनीया** लोभनीया ॥ **प्रमदा** प्रकृष्टयौवनमदा ॥ (२२) **प्रत्यवस्थितौ** त्यक्तौ ॥ (२३) **अंचितपक्ष्माग्रं** उन्मीलितं नयनरोमाग्रं यत्र ॥ (२७) **अभिप्रवर्तितं** चलन्तम् ॥

[२०४]

(९) **वेषं** शृङ्गारम् । **आक्षिप्तं** चित्ताक्षेपकम् ॥ (२२) **छन्दिता** लोभिता ॥ (२३) **सुदृष्टां** सुखदृष्टाम् । **तेजसा** हेतुना । दुर्दर्शामिति यावत् ॥

[२०५]

(१) एवं ते समयं कृत्वा न्यवसंस्तत्र पाण्डवाः ।

इत्यादेः

(अ० २१३–८२) अन्विता राजशार्दूल पाण्डवा मुदमावहन् ।

इत्यन्तस्य तीव्रसंयोगाभ्यां आर्तब्राह्मणधनत्राणेन समयपालनलक्षणेन सत्येव(?) च

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१ C om from यदृच्छया up to (२०५) प्रसङ्गेन उपनीतवानिति तात्पर्यार्थः. २ After वां B ins पुरासं (?). Before वां b ins (या)सां पुरा. ३ Ed अंचितपक्ष्मान्तं. ४ Ed अभिप्रवर्तन्ते. ५ Ed मुदमाप्नुवन्.

सहकृतो विपाकाभिमुखः पाण्डवानां धर्मः त्रिवर्गसाधनं स्त्रीत्रितयं तासु च अपत्यं स्त्रीसंबन्धिनश्च प्रतिपक्षविजयकारिणः कृष्णबलभद्रप्रभृतीन्सहायानर्जुनस्य नयान् प्रसङ्गेनोपनीतवानिति तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (५) **निवेशने**[1] गृहे ॥ (८) **प्रमत्तस्य** अनवहितस्य । **ध्वाङ्क्षैः** काकैः **हविर्विलुप्यते** । **शार्दूलस्य**[2] **शून्यां गुहां** यथा **क्रोष्टा** शृगालः । इदं तु धर्मापायो वित्तस्य तस्करैर्हरणं तद्ब्राह्मणैरशक्यप्रतिक्रियमिति[3] राज्ञामग्रे निवेद्यत इति भावः ॥ (९) **हस्तधारणं** मज्जतः समुद्धरणम् ॥ (१४) **उपप्रेक्षणं**[4] उपेक्षा ॥ (१५) **अनास्तिक्यं** अनास्तिकता । **प्रतितिष्ठेत** प्रतिष्ठां गच्छेत् ॥ (२२) **पात्वा**[5] रक्षित्वा ॥ (२५) **गुडाकेशः गुडाका** निद्रा तस्या **ईशः** । अथवा **गुडा** स्नुही तदाकारा **केशा** यस्य ॥ (२६) **व्यलीकं** अपराधः ॥ (२७) **यवीयसः अनुप्रवेशो** विधिलोपकः **गुरोर्नोपघातकः** इत्यन्वयः । खड्गादित्यागदुःखाभावात् । ज्येष्ठस्य अनुप्रवेशो यवीयसो विधिलोपकः इत्यन्वयः ॥

[२०६]

(२) **चौक्षाः** शुचयः ॥ (६) **निवेशं** गृहम् ॥

[२०७]

(१०) **उपावर्तन्त** निवृत्ताः ॥ (१६) **चैत्रवाहिनीं** चित्रवाहनस्यापत्यम् चैत्रवाहिनीम् ॥ (२३) त्रीणि हिमानि यासु ताः **त्रिहिमाः समाः**॥

[२०८]

(४) **विविक्तानि** विजनानि ॥ (११) **उत्कृष्टः** उद्धृतः ॥ (१६) **अधीयानं** जपन्तम् ॥ (२०) **ललमानाः**[9] क्रीडन्त्यः ॥

[२०९]

(३) **प्रलब्धुं**[10] वञ्चयितुम् ॥ (५) **मैत्रः** सर्वजनसुहृद् ॥ (८)

[1] Ed विशां पते (for निवेशने). [2] Mss सिंहस्य (for शार्दूलस्य). [3] B °प्रतिक्र(?)य°. C °प्रतिज्ञय°. [4] Ed असाधारणम्. [5] C उपेक्षणं. [6] Ed पीत्वा. [7] B b om from गुडाका up to तदाकारा. [8] Ed नोपघातः. [9] Ed वै हसन्त्यः (for ललमानाः). [10] Ed प्रलोब्धुं.

शतं सहस्रं विश्वं च अक्षयवाचकं परिमाणवाचकं च । शतं समा इत्यत्र **परिमाण**वाचकः शतशब्दः । तेन शतवर्षावधिः शापः इति मा भैष्ट ॥

[२१०]

(४) **अज्ञातो नाम** अविदितः किल ॥ (८) **विहृत्य** क्रीडित्वा ॥ (१६) **निष्कुटे** गृहारामे ॥ (१७) **नरेन्द्रमार्गः** राजमार्गः ॥ (१८) **अवलोकने**[1] दर्शने ॥

[२११]

(२) **महे** उत्सवे ॥ (३) **दीपवृक्षैः** वृक्षाकारैर्दीपाधारैः ॥ (७) **क्षीबो** मत्तः ॥ (९) **रौक्मिणेयः** प्रद्युम्नः ॥ (१५) **अनेकाग्रमनसं**[2] अन्यमनस्कम्[3] ॥ (१६) **वनेचरस्य** इति सोल्लुंठम् ॥ (२०) **आस्था-स्यामि** अङ्गीकरिष्यामि ॥ (२१) **संशयितः** संशयवान् किं त्वां वरयेत् अन्यं वा । **अनिमित्ततः** प्रयोजनादिनिमित्तनिरपेक्षत्वात् ॥

[२१२]

(१) **संचारिणा**[4] वार्ताहरेण ॥

[२१३]

(२९) **हरणं** कन्याप्रदेयं धनम् ॥ (३०) **प्रतिग्रहः** प्रत्युत्थानम् ॥ (४३) **अश्वतरी** वेगयुता ॥ (४४) **उत्सादनं** उद्वर्तनम् ॥ (2087*) पृष्ठेन वहन्तीति[5] **पृष्ठ्याः** तेषाम् ॥ (४६) **कृतस्य** घटितस्य । **मुख्यस्य** श्रेष्ठस्य ॥ (४८) **कुप्तानां** सपरिकराणाम् । सादिभिः[6] आरोहकैः ॥ (४९) **पादग्रहणकं**[7] पादग्रहणस्येदम् ॥ (५१) **आविद्धं**[8] कृतसंनाहम् ॥ (५३) **अमरावासे** स्वर्गे[9] ॥ (५४) **उत्कृष्टतलनादितैः** उत्कृष्टं तल-नादितं करतलध्वानिर्येषु ॥ (५८) **सौभद्रं** अभिमन्युम् ॥ (६१)

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१ Ed अवलोकेषु. २ Ed एकाग्रमनसं. ३ C अनन्यमनस्कम्. ४ Ed तत संवादिते तस्मिन् (for संचारिणा तु तच्छ्रुत्वा). ५ C हरन्तीति. ६ Ed हस्त्यारोहैरुपे° (for सादिभिः समुपे°). ७ Ed पादग्राहणिक. C पादग्रहणिकं. ८ Ed आविद्धः. ९ C सुभद्रवासे.

सात्वत्यां सुभद्रायाम् । वाशब्दः उपमायाम् ॥ (६२) **निष्काः** सुवर्णानि ॥ (६५) **दशविधं**

धनुर्गुणः शराश्चैव गुरुशिष्यौ भुजद्वयम् ।
लक्ष्यं यत्नैकचित्तत्वं दशवैध्यं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

दिव्यं पाशुपतादि । **मानुषं** इतरत् ॥ (६६) अंसबिन्दुकर्परादीनां स्थापनाविशेषः **सौष्ठवम्** ॥ (६७) **आगमे** धनुःशास्त्रपरिचये । **प्रयोगे** तदर्थानुष्ठाने ॥ (६८) **संहननं** अस्त्रम् ॥ (७२) विन्ध्यस्य प्रतिभटः **प्रतिविन्ध्यः** । गवामयनसंज्ञके सत्रे सुते सोमे जात इति **सुतसोमः** ॥ (७३) **आदित्यान्** देवान् ॥

[२१४]

(१) इन्द्रप्रस्थे वसन्तस्ते जघ्नुरन्यान्नराधिपान् ।

इत्यादेः आदिपर्वसमाप्तिपर्यन्तस्य तमोमयगुरुतरदुराचारपुरुषसहस्रभारेण निमज्जन्त्या मेदिन्या देवसदसि विज्ञापितो भगवान् कमललोचनस्तद्भारावतारणाय तपस्तेजोमयीं नरनारायणमूर्तिं आत्मनः कौरवयादवकुले किरीटिकृष्णरूपेणावतारितवानिति पुराणरहस्यम् । तत्र भूभारलघूकरणाय खाण्डववननिवासिनो जगद्विरोधिनो महाभूतानुपसंहर्तुं हुतवहेन प्रेरितयोः कृष्णार्जुनयोर्वीर्यपरीक्षा गाण्डीवादिदिव्यशस्त्रप्राप्तिश्च तात्पर्यार्थः ॥ (२) **पुण्ये लक्षणकर्मणी** यस्य धर्मराजस्योपमानम् । **स्वदेहमिव** यथा **देहिनां** स्वदेहस्तथा लोकानां धर्मराजः त्रिवर्गसाधनमिति भावः ॥ (३) **समं** तुल्यम् । एको ह्यभ्यासेवितो धर्मार्थकामानात्मानमितरौ पीडयति । **त्रीणि चात्मसमान्बन्धून्** इत्युपमानेन तेषामेकस्यापि पीडां न सहत इति विवक्ष्यति ॥

(४) तेषां समविभक्तानां क्षितौ देहवतामिव ।
बभौ धर्मार्थकामानां चतुर्थ इव पार्थिवः ॥

इति । धर्मादीनां देशकालपात्रक्रमेण पृथक्कृतानां भुवि कृतदेहग्रहणानामिव युधिष्ठिरः **चतुर्थः** तत्पूरणत्वात्तत्पुष्टिहेतुत्वादिति भावः । अथवा **तेषां** अयं

१ Ed देहिनः. २ Ed श्रीनिवात्मसमान्. ३ After this B C ins मात्रयापि.

पार्थिवः इतरैरर्जितत्वात् तेषामेव **चतुर्थो** मोक्षः । **इव**शब्दो भिन्नक्रमः **चतुर्थः इव**स्यानन्तरं योजनीयः[1] । त्रयाणामेकत्र पक्षपात इति भावः । **बभौ** शुशुभे ॥ (५) **परं** श्रेष्ठम् ॥ (६) **अधिष्ठानवती** आश्रयवती । **परायणवती** उत्कृष्टज्ञानैवती । **मतिः** निश्चयः । **बन्धुमान्** औदासीन्यद्वेषशून्येन युधिष्ठिरेण अनुरागवता तद्वानित्यर्थः ॥ (७) **विततो** विस्तारं गतः ॥ (९) **नेत्राणि** रूपेण । **हृदयानि** गुणैः ॥ (१०) **दैवेन** राजाज्ञैया । **भावेन** अनुरागेण । भावे हेतुमाह **मनःकान्तं** इति अभिलषितम् ॥ (११) **अयुक्तं** युक्तिशून्यम् । **असत्यं** वाङ्मनोविसंवादि । **अहितं** अनिष्टपरिणामम् । **विप्रियं** तदात्वयत्योः कटुकम् ॥ (१६) **कुन्तीमातर्** इत्यर्जुनामन्त्रणम् ॥ (१९) **महाधनं** महामूल्यम् ॥

[२१५]

(२) **भिक्षे** याचे ॥ [Appendix I, No. 118] (l. 9) **हरिहयः** इन्द्रः । (l. 36) श्रमस्थान् **श्रान्तान्** । (l. 38) **बुद्धिमोहो** बुद्धिविभ्रमः । (l. 92) **विकारः** अग्निमान्द्यम् । (l. 109) **किल्बिषात्** अग्निमान्द्यात् । (l. 120) **प्रहरणानि** अस्त्राणि । (l. 129) **मिषतः** पश्यतः ॥ (१२) **अकामस्य** अनिच्छतः ॥ (१९) **करणानि** उपकरणानि ॥

[२१६]

(१) **आदित्यं** अदितेरपत्यम् ॥ (३) **कपिलक्षणं** कपिकेतुम् ॥ (५) **सर्वायुधानां महामात्रं** हस्तिनामिव निषेद्धारम् ॥ (८) **राजतैः** रजताभैः । **गान्धर्वैः अश्वैः** ॥ (१०) **भौवनो** विश्वकर्मा ॥ (१३) **सिंहशार्दूलयोर्लक्षणं इव लक्षणं** पराक्रमो यस्य ॥ (१७) **जयो** अर्जुनः ॥ (१८) **तदपि** धनुरपि **नमस्कृत्य** इत्यन्वयः । **ज्यया** गुणेन ॥ (२७) **कल्यौ** समर्थौ । **स्वः** भवावः ॥

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१ b वर्जित°. C वैराजित°. २ C द्रष्टव्यः. ३ C °स्थानवती. ४ b राज्ञा. ५ Ed अमृतं. ६ **After this Mss ins** अहृतं सहजम्. ७ Ed मुदितोऽर्जुन. (for मुदितो जयः).

[२१७]

(३) **छिद्रं** अन्तरम् । **रथयोः** भ्रमतोरलातचक्रयोरिव । **आविद्धौ** भ्राम्यन्तौ ॥ (५) **निष्टप्ताः** अत्यन्ततप्ताः ॥ (९) **गतसत्त्वाः** गतजीवाः[1] ॥ (११) **प्रहसन् कृष्णवर्त्मा** अग्निर्यत्र ॥ (१६) **मानवाः** मनुप्रभवाः ॥ (१७) **हरिवाहनः** इन्द्रः ॥ (१९) **अक्षस्य** रथकाष्ठस्य **मात्रा** प्रमाणं यस्य ॥ (२२) **स्तनयित्नुसमं** घोषवत् ॥

[२१८]

(३) **खगमैः** बाणैः । **अस्यता** क्षिपता ॥ (११) **जिह्मगामिनं** सर्पम् । **अप्रतिष्ठो** निराश्रयः ॥ (१९) **कृष्णाभ्यां** वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्याम् ॥ (२१) **शिबिकां** गदाम् । **विचक्रं** शूलम् ॥ (३३) **अंशः** अर्कविशेषः ॥

[२१९]

(१) **तरक्षा**[2] वानराः । **ऋक्षाः** भल्लूकाः । **प्रभिन्नाः** समदाः ॥ (२७) **रोधस्सु** तटेषु ॥ (३०) **एकायनगताः** एकमार्गगताः ॥ (३१) **वसुरेतसः** अग्नेः ॥ (३४) **सुधां** सुधासदृशं भक्ष्यम् ॥ (३७) **अभिधाव** आगच्छ मां रक्षेत्यभिप्रायः ॥ (४०) **शार्ङ्गकः**[3] खञ्जरीटः ॥

[२२०]

(२२) **अन्तः** मध्ये घर्षणव्यञ्जनीयेन रूपेण । **गूढः** तिरोहितः ॥ (२३) **एकं** प्राजापत्यम् । **त्रिविधं** गार्हपत्याहवनीयदक्षिणाग्निभेदात् । **अष्टधा** पर्णशालायां[4] सोमवेद्यां उत्तरवेद्यां अग्नीध्रशालायां सदसि क्रतुषु उपसदि लोके चेति ॥ (२६) **विषक्तान्**[5] विलग्नान् । **हायनैः**[6] अर्चिभिः ॥ (२९) **धाता** विश्वधारणात् । **बृहस्पतिः** बृहतां पालनात् । **यमः**[7] आयुरादिनियमहेतुत्वात् । **सूर्यः** प्रकाशकत्वात् । **सोमः** ओषधीनां सवनहेतुत्वात् । इल्यत इति इलः प्रेर्यः न इलः **अनिलः** ॥

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१ B b अजीवाः. २ Ed तरक्षूक्ष° (for तरक्षर्क्ष°). ३ Mss शारङ्गः. ४ B b पत्नीशालायां. ५ C विविक्तान्. ६ Ed हायनाः. ७ Ed यमो मित्रः (for यमः सूर्यः).

[२२१]

(१) **शुक्रे** अग्नौ ॥ (२) **निशाम्य** ज्ञात्वा । **तपस्विनी** दीना ॥ (३) **कक्षं** वनम् ॥ (४) **कर्शयन्ति**[१] कृश् तनूकरणे चिन्तया तनूकुर्वन्ति । **कर्षयन्ति** पाठे कृष् विलेखनधातौ विलेखयन्ति पक्षपुटविलेखने पक्षे इत्यर्थः । **अबर्हाः** अपक्षाः । **पूर्वेषां** पितृपितामहादीनां मध्ये । **नः परायणं** नः शरणमस्तीति ॥ (५) **निःसरितुं**[२] गन्तुम् । **अन्तैतः**[३] अग्निच्छेदस्थाने ॥ (७) **किं कृत्वा मे** मम **कृतं** सुकृतं स्यात् इत्यन्वयः । **नु** वितर्के ॥ (८-९) **जरितारिसारिसृक्कस्तम्बमित्रद्रोणनाम्नः**[४] चतुरः पुत्रान् कर्मभिर्माता शोचति । **निर्घृणो** निष्कृपः ॥ (१२) **पत** गच्छ[५] ॥ (१३) **क्षमं** उचितम् ॥ (१७) **विहर्तुं** अपनेतुम् ॥ (१९) **मोघो** निष्फलः । **धरेत**[६] धारयेत् ॥ (२१) **शिष्टैः**[७] मन्वादिभिः । **दिष्टं**[७] उपदिष्टम् ॥

[२२२]

(३) **वायोः** सकाशात् ॥ (४) **चर** गच्छ । **वेत्स्यसि** लप्स्यसे ॥ (७) **निरमित्रः** निःसपत्नः । **हिरण्मयः** सुवर्णमयः ज्ञानमयो वा ॥ (१४) (१४) **एषणे** अन्वेषणे ॥

[२२३]

(७) आत्मेव **आत्मा** सखा शरीरं वा । **योनिः** कारणम् । **वीरुधः**[८] लतायाः ॥ (९) **प्रपन्ना** गता ॥ (१०) **हेतयः** विशः । **ईडितः** स्तुतः ॥ (११) **तमसे**[९] तमोनिवृत्तये । **गोषु** रश्मिषु ॥ (१४) **प्रतिष्ठा** प्रलयस्थानम् ॥ (१६) **विश्वान्** सर्वान् । **सृष्ट्या वृष्ट्या** सृष्टिरूपया वृष्ट्या । **भावयसि** उत्पादयसि ॥ (१७) सम्यग्द्रवन्ति गच्छन्ति आपोऽस्मिन्निति **समुद्रः** । समुत्क्लेदयतीति[१०] वा ॥ (१९) **परेण प्रैहि** अन्यतो गच्छ ॥ (२३) **भवान्** त्वम् ॥

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१ Ed कर्षयन्ति. २ Ed सारितुं. ३ Ed अन्यतः. ४ Ed सारिसृक. ५ B b यात गच्छत. ६ Ed भ्रियेत. ७ Ed शिष्टाविष्टः (for शिष्टैः दिष्टं). ८ Ed वीरुधा. ९ Ed तपसे. १० C संचलान्ति क्लेदयन्ति इति वा (;पाठे ?·).

[२२४]

(२) प्लवने उत्पतने ॥ (११) अमित्रां[१] सपत्नीम् ॥ (१९) अश्रद्धेयं[२] असंभाव्यम् ॥ (२६) पुरुषान्तरात् पुरुषव्यवधानात् ॥

[२२५]

(६) कुल्या अल्पा कृत्रिमा सरित् ॥ श्वेतकेरेव* श्वेतकेतुः इति नाम ॥

तदिदमादिपर्व । आदिपर्वसंज्ञाबीजं च इदम् । जायते अस्ति विपरिणमते विवर्धते अपक्षीयते विनश्यतीति षण्णां भावविकाराणां आदिभूतो जन्मलक्षणो विकारः स चात्र संभवोपाख्याने पाण्डवकौरवाणां कथानायकप्रतिनायकानां साकल्येन प्रतिपादितः । तदुपलक्षिताः धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाः सोपायाः आदिशब्देन व्यपदिश्यन्ते यथा एकेन छत्रेणोपलक्षिताः छत्रविरहिता अपि छत्रिणो गच्छन्तीति व्यपदिश्यन्ते । अथ वा समासव्यासाभ्यां प्रतिपाद्यमानो ह्यर्थः सुप्रतिपादितो भवति । तत्र आदिः समासः । तत्पूर्वकत्वादुत्तरो व्यासः । तस्मात्समस्तजयेतिहाससमासत्वादिदमादिपर्व । ये तु प्रथमभावित्वादस्यादिपर्वत्वं वर्णयन्ति ते द्वितीयतृतीयसंज्ञामुत्तरोत्तरपर्वणामपि विदधीरन् । अर्थोपलक्षणनिमित्ता सभापर्वादिसंज्ञा । तस्मादर्थनिबन्धना एव संज्ञा श्रेयसी । पर्वशब्दप्रवृत्तिश्चात्र पुण्यहेतुत्वात् । पौर्णमास्यादिषु यथा । न च पुण्यहेतुषु तीर्थादिष्वतिप्रसङ्गः शङ्कनीयः । योगस्यातिव्यापकत्वेऽपि वृद्धप्रसिद्धेर्नियामकत्वात् । वृद्धाश्च व्यासवैशंपायनादयोऽत्र पर्वशब्दं प्रयुञ्जते । तस्मात्कालविशेषवदयं[३] नावभासः पर्वशब्दः । तस्मात् पुण्यविशेषार्थिना इहापि ब्रह्मयज्ञश्रवणादयो विधेयाः । तत्त्वज्ञानार्थिना तु सर्वमन्यत्परित्यज्यास्मिन्नितिहासे प्रवर्तितव्यम् । दृष्टो हि तस्यार्थः तत्त्वावबोधनमिति न्यायात् । अयममावास्यादिपर्वभ्यो विशेषः । यदिदं धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरहस्यप्रतिपादकत्वादुपनिषदपीति । एषामष्टादशपर्वणां चैकत्वे भेदे च अर्थैकत्वभेदौ कारणम् । तथा हि आदिसभावनप्रभृतिरर्थोपाधिरेषामेकत्वे कारणम् । स एव परस्परापेक्षया वर्तमानः पर्वभेदः भेदे कारणम् । एवमध्यायानामप्येकत्वभेदाभ्यां

१ Ed अमित्रीं. २ Ed अश्रद्धेयतमं. ३ Mss °विशेषवदिदं (?). ४ b तत्त्वावबोधन°.

* Ed. Appendix I, 121, line 7

निपुणेर्न[1] भवितव्यम् । ' अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्षं चेद्विभागः स्यात् ' इति न्यायात् । येषु पुनरध्यायेषु निपुणतरमवधानैरपि नार्थभेदाभेदौ दृश्येते तेषु भेदाभेदयोर्फलभेदाभेदौ कारणम् । तथा हि कस्मिंश्चिदध्याये पठिते कपिलादानफलं कस्मिंश्चिद्वाजपेयफलमिति । तद्भेदाभेदाभ्यामध्यायभेदाभेदावध्यवसातव्यौ ॥

आवृण्वन्व्योमवीथीः खरतुहिनकरौ वेगवापौ(प्यां?) विवर्तौ[2]
निर्वाप्य द्योतमानो निजनखरुचिमिर्भासयन्भूर्भुवः स्वः ।
आमर्त्यादावसत्याः प्रथमचरमदिग्भित्तिकूलंकषोऽङ्घ्रिः
पायान्नारायणीयश्चिरचकितचरस्यास्तु.... प्रदो वः[3] ॥

इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यभट्टारकश्रीमत्सत्यबोधशिष्यस्य परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीदेवबोधकृतौ महाभारततात्पर्यटीकायां ज्ञानदीपिकायामादिपर्व समाप्तम् ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

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१ Mss °भेदयोर्निपुणेन. २ b वेरामात्या विवर्ते (?). ३ B C °तरस्यास्य माभीप्रबोधः (?).
४ After this B ins चतुर्दशशती ज्ञानदीपिकायामनुष्टुभाम् ॥ १४०० ॥ नारायणं॰ नमस्कृत्य॰ ॥

APPENDIX

Additional matter in Śāradā script found in Ms. C. *

[६५]

(३४) मह्यं क्रुद्धः त्रिशंकुपातेन **नक्षत्रसंपदा अतिशयितानि** प्राचीन-**नक्षत्रवंशात्**[1] प्रतिपत्तिरूपाणि **श्रवणनक्ष** ... ... त्तरं सृष्ट्वा **तत्पूर्वाणि यः ससर्ज** इत्यन्वयः ॥

[६८]

(४) **शिखरिभिः** शिखरसदृशैः ।

पक्कदाडिमबीजाभं(र्भं?) माणिक्यं शिखरं विदुः ।

मत्वर्थीय इन् । उपमेयतया तस्य समृद्धित्वं विवक्षितम् ।

दाडिमाफलसंकाशे दशने शिखरं विदुः ।

शिखरं लम्बितमाणिक्यम् । तथा च अनेकार्थे

पक्कदाडिमबीजाभं(?) माणिक्यं शिखरं विदुः ।

इति एतच्चायुक्तमेव ।

' कुन्दकुड्मलं शिखरम् ' इति तु श्रीभोजः । दन्तानां कुन्दकुड्मलानां च सर्वदा सितत्वमेव इति कण्ठालंकारविदः ।

तस्मात् (?) शिखरदशना इति तीक्ष्णाग्रदन्ताः । एतच्च दशनानां शुभं लक्षणम् । सु...... स्वादात् । तथा च पराशरसंहितायां 'समसितशिखरिणश्च दशना ' इति ॥ (२१) **संरंभः** क्रोधः । तेन **अमर्षः** अक्षमा ॥

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* These additions are made in the upper, lower and side margins on the following folios of Ms. C :— 22, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45 and 48. In this appendix also the *pratīkas* are printed in black type and adhyāya and śloka numbers from the Critical Edition of the Mbh. published by B. O. R. I. are adopted. In some places, where the *pratīkas* have not been originally given, they are supplied in brackets.

[1] Ed नक्षत्रवंशात्.

[१२२]

(१२) **वीटा** कन्दुकसदृशं अश्मकवर्णम् (?) कन्दुकं वीटेति गम्यते ॥
(1358*) **तेषां तु क्रीडमानानाम्** इति ।

तेषां तु[1] क्रीडमानानामुदपानेऽङ्गुलीयकम् ।

(१३) **पपात धर्मराजस्य वीटा तत्रैव चापतत्**[2] ॥

इति ।

[१२५]

(२७) **निष्पेषः** अशनिध्वनिः ।

[१२६]

(४) **द्युतिकान्तिदीप्तिभिः**[3] प्रकाशकमनीयभास्वरताभिः ॥ (५) **कनकतालः** तरुविशेषः ॥ (३७) **वृषः** कर्णः ॥

[१२७]

(१) **अधिरथः** अत्र कर्णपिता । **प्राणः** बलम् ॥ (२) (**पितृ-गौरवयन्त्रितः**) यंत्रवशात् .... ॥ (५) **कर्ण** सूतं विजानन्ति ॥ (११) **क्षेत्रबन्धुना** अधमेनापि ॥ (१४) **आगमितं** श्रुतम् ॥ (२४) **निःश्रमः** अत्यभ्यासः ॥

[१२९]

(१५) **दायाद्यं** रिक्थम् ॥

[१३०]

(५)(**अपक्रष्टुं**) राज्यादपकर्ष्यं च्यावयितुम् ॥ (६) **भृताः** पुष्टाः ॥ (१८) **परे** शत्रौ । **प्रच्छन्नं यतः** यत्नवान् ॥

[१३१]

(१५) **न प्रसहिष्यति** न बाधिष्यते ॥

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१ Ed संक्रीडमानानां. २ Ed पपात कूपे सा वीटा तेषां वै क्रीडतां तदा. ३ Ed दीप्तिकान्तिद्युतिगुणैः.

[१३३]

वारणावते जतुगृहं गत्वा पाण्डवा दग्धव्या इति पुरोचनादिभिः समं ...
... राज्ये प्रस्थापिताः ॥

(१८) पौरेषु तु निवृत्तेषु विदुरः सर्वधर्मवित् ।
बोधयन्पाण्डवश्रेष्ठामिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥

अस्यार्थः । **पौरजनेषु** अनीके यात्रां कृत्वा **विनिवृत्तेषु** रहः समासाद्य **विदुरः** **पाण्डवश्रेष्ठं** युधिष्ठिरं **इदं वचनं** (1458*) '**यो जानाति**' इत्यादि वक्ष्यमाणं **अब्रवीत्** । किंभूतं वाक्यम् । संज्ञापनरूपम् । **इदं वचनं** इति पदसंज्ञापने पौराणिकासिद्धम् । तथा च ब्रह्मवैवर्ते ।

इदं वचनमुक्त्वा च वाक्यं वाक्यविशारदः ।
चकारावश्यकं सर्वं नर्मदातीरमाश्रितः ॥

इति । **बोधयन्** अवहितं कुर्वन् । **सर्वधर्मवित्** सकलनीतिधर्मवित् ।

प्राज्ञः प्राज्ञं प्रलापज्ञं सम्यग्धर्मार्थदर्शिवान् ।

प्राज्ञः प्रस्तुतकार्यवेत्ता विदुरः । **प्राज्ञं** झटिति परोक्तवाक्यार्थमिदं युधिष्ठिरम् । **प्रलापज्ञं** सर्वदेशभाषाप्रलापज्ञम् । तथाविधमेव **अब्रवीत्** इत्यर्थः ॥

(1458*) यो जानाति परप्रज्ञां नीतिशास्त्रानुसारिणीम् ।
(१९) विज्ञायेदं तथा कुर्यादापदं निस्तरेद्यथा ।

इदं संज्ञापनवाक्यम् । **यः** पुमान् अन्यस्य वक्तुः वचनार्थपरामर्श ... प्रज्ञामेति प्रायेण यदुक्त ... **जानाति** । **नीतिशास्त्रानुसारिणीं** इति कर्तव्याकर्तव्य-निश्चय ... ... शास्त्राणि विशालादीनि तदनुसारिणीं तत्संबद्धां नीतिशास्त्रानु-संबद्धार्थज्ञानस्यानुयोगात् । **विज्ञायेदं तथा कुर्यात्** । तान् **विज्ञाय इदं** जगति पुरुषः **तथा कुर्यात्** निर्गतं अनिर्गतं वा तथाप्रकारं कुर्यात् यथासावापदमात्मनो .... दिति .... नित्यविरुद्धप्रत्याय .... निश्चितमापन्नः स्यादित्यर्थः ॥

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१ Ed प्रलापज्ञः. २ Ed इदम्.

(२०) **कक्षघ्नः वह्निः** वनेचरादिश्च। **महाकक्षे** महावने। स **न दहेत्** न व्यापादयेत्। कान्। **बिलौकसः** सर्पनकुलमूषकादीन्। इत्यतो हेतोः **चशब्देन** .... सत्यं च नेति। **आत्मानं** स्वशरीरम्। **यो रक्षति स जीवति** वासगृहे बिलं कर्तुम्॥

जतुगृहान्निर्गमनेऽपि वयं दुर्योधनपक्षीयैरवश्यं व्यापादितव्याः तत्र प्रतिक्रिया। तत्राह।

(२१) **नाचक्षुर्वेत्ति पन्थानं नाचक्षुर्विन्दते दिशः।**
नाधृतिर्भूतिमाप्नोति बुध्यस्वैतत्तु बोधितः॥

अचक्षुः चारशून्यः। **न पन्थानं** जानाति। अतो वारणावतं गत्वा निर्गमनप्रवेशादिकं पथज्ञानं कर्तव्यम्। **न अधृतिः** इति। योऽतिधैर्ययुक्तो दुःखसहः स **भूतिं** सम्यग् **आप्नोति** नान्यः। तस्माद्दुर्गभंगादिना यद्दुःखं तत् सोढव्यं न तु तत्र निर्वेदः कार्यः॥

किमिति पलायितव्यं तत्रैव किमिति न स्थीयते। तत्राह (२२) **अनाप्तैर्दत्तं** इति। **अनाप्तैः** पुरोचनादिभिः। **दत्तं अलोहजं शस्त्रं** युक्तं **आदत्ते** स्वीकरोति पुरुषः शत्रोरकीर्ति ..... र्थसुप्रतीकारस्यान्यतः सिद्धत्वात्॥

महाकक्षे बिलौकसः इति यदुक्त तत्र दृष्टान्तमाह (२२) **श्वावित्** इत्यादि गतार्थम्। यदि वा प्रतीकारं कृत्वापि न स्थेयं तत्र न बत सारभा ...., तर्हि कर्तव्यम्। **श्वाविच्छरणं** इति दुर्गं महद् **आसाद्य प्रमुच्येत** महाभयात्। उक्तं च

श्वाविच्छरणमन्विच्छेच्छत्रुभिः परिवारितः।

इत्यर्थः॥

नाचक्षुः इति यदुक्तं तत्र दिङ्मुखज्ञानार्थमाह।

चरन्मार्गान्विजानाति (दिवा) नक्षत्रैर्विन्दते दिशः (निशासु)।

इति॥

नाधृतिर्भूतिमाप्नोति इति स्फुटयति।

(२३) **आत्मना चात्मनः पञ्च पीडयन्नानुपीड्यते।**

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१ Ed बुध्यस्वैवं प्रबोधितः.

आत्मना स्वयमेव । **पञ्च आत्मनः** भूतानि । **पीडयन्** दुःखयन् । **नानु-पीड्यते** कार्यवशेन संजातत्वादित्यर्थः ॥

[१३८]

(११) जलं तिष्ठत्यस्मिन्निति **जलस्थायः** जलाशयः ॥ (२५) **चैत्यः** देवाङ्कितवृक्षः । **चैत्यः** बद्धवेदिकः । पूज्यो वृक्षः तदुक्तः **चैत्यः** ॥

[१४३]

(३४) घटः अस्य उत्कचः(?) इति[1] मातरं प्रत्यभाषत[2] ।
अब्रवीत्तेन[3] नामास्य घटोत्कच इति स्म ह ॥

घट इवोह्यते तर्क्यते स्थूलमध्यो दीर्घग्रीवः **उत्कचः** ऊर्ध्वसमुद्गकचः **इति मातरं** हिडिम्बां भीमसेन उक्तवान् । अनयैव व्युत्पत्त्या माता **अस्य नाम अब्रवीत्** इत्यर्थः । अथवा घटन्तीव चलन्तीव उह्यन्ते अस्योर्ध्वकचा इति **घटोत्कच** इति॥

[१४६]

(१) विद्यामधीत इति **वैद्यः** ॥

[१५५]

(५) **अभितः** सर्वतः ॥ (७) **शाम्यन्तौ** विषयेभ्यो निवर्तमानौ । **शाम्यन्तौ** समयुक्तौ ॥ (८) **तारणं** कार्यान्तकरणम् ॥ (९) **उपह्वरे** एकान्ते । 'रहोऽन्तिकमुपह्वरे' इत्यमरः* ॥ (११) **अर्बुदं** कोटिशतम् । इदं तु चिन्त्यम् (?)॥ (१६) **संकरस्य** दोषयुक्तस्य वा । (**असांप्रतम्**) 'युक्ते द्वे सांप्रतं स्थाने' इत्यमरः‡ ॥

[१६०]

(५) **त्रिः**[4] त्रीन् वारान् ॥ (२६) (**क्षुपः**) 'ह्रस्वशाखाशिफः क्षुपः' इत्यमरः** ॥

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१ Ed घटमासोत्कच इति. २ Ed सोभ्यभाषत. ३ Ed अभवत्तेन. ४ Ed यद्वचः (for त्रिर्वचः).

* Amarakośa III. 3. 183. ‡ Amarakośa III. 4. 11. ** Amarakośa II. 4. 8.

[१६४]

(३) एतद् **नाम** कथयते । **श्रोतुं इच्छामि** इति ॥ (५) **तपसा** इति । **कामक्रोधौ** वासयति स्वचरणयोः इति **वसिष्ठः** इति निरुक्त्यर्थः । **संवाहनं** मर्दनम् ॥ (१४) **ब्रह्म कार्य** उत्पादनम् ॥

[१७६]

(३०) **वीरकांस्यं** पीतभाण्डं पुष्पपात्री वा । **वीरकांस्यं** स्वयंवरार्थे माल्यस्थापनं भाजनम् । **समलंकृतं** माल्यम् ॥

[१७८]

(९) **पद्म** पाण्डवान् । **अभिपद्मान्** पद्मवनाभिमुखानिव **गजेन्द्रान्** ॥ (११) **अद्रौ** पद्माभिमुखत्वेन **व्यायच्छमानाः** प्रयत्नवन्तः **ददृशुः** ॥

[१७९]

(११) **संस्थानं** शरीरं संनिवेशः तेन **चरत्सु** तद्वत्सु शरीरिषु मध्ये इत्यर्थः ॥ (१३) **सुखं .... यत् महत्** महद्धेतुः .... न्तीत्यन्वयः ॥ (१४) **विलपतां** इति .... षष्ठी ॥ (१५) **परिक्रम्य** गत्वा ॥ (२१) **आवासमेवोपजगाम** अन्यथा संततानां प्रततस्थे .... स्यात् सर्वार्थान् । तयोश्च रक्षार्थं भीमार्जुनावेव चात्र पर्याप्तौ ॥

[१८०]

(७) **बुभूषति** अङ्गीकरोति ॥ (१८) **तालमात्रं** ऊर्ध्वबाहुस्थित-पुरुषप्रमाणं तालतरुतुल्यं वा ॥

[१८१]

(३१) **(अपहारैः)**[1] 'अपहारस्त्वपचयः' इत्यमरः* । हानिरित्यर्थः ॥

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[1] Ed अवहारः.

* Amarakośa III. 2. 16.

[१८४]

(१७) **प्रतीतः**[१] प्रहृष्टः ॥

[१८७]

(१८) (**ब्राह्मेण परिग्रहेण** दक्षिणाङ्गुष्ठप्रग्रहणेन ।) तथा च स्मृतिः।

एकैकस्याथ विप्रस्य गृहीत्वाङ्गुष्ठमादरात् ।

अमुकामुकगोत्रैतत् तुभ्यमन्नं स्वधा नमः ॥†

[१८९]

(२३) **शेषस्य** शापान्तस्य ॥

[१९१]

(३) (**कृतकौतुकमङ्गला**)

तद्राक्षसात्त(?)सिद्धार्थशिखिपक्षोरगत्वचः ।

कंकाणौषधयश्चैव कौतुकाख्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

तद्राक्षः(?) श्वेतगुग्गुलुः । **मङ्गलानि** शङ्खध्वन्यादीनि ॥

[१९३]

(१६) **लोप्त्रं** चौरसमृद्धिद्रव्यम् ॥

[२०१]

(२९) **कौमुदी** कार्तिकमासीय उत्सवः । **अकाले** एव **चक्रतुः** इत्यर्थः ॥

[२०२]

(८) सरस्वत्या भूषणानि(?) **नागाः**[२] ॥

[२१३]

(४४) (**उत्सादनं**) 'उद्वर्तनोत्सादने द्वे ' इत्यमरः* ॥

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१ Ed परमप्रतीतः. २ Ed अ० २०४–२ (?).

† A quotation from Brahmapurāṇa ; also given by Aparārka in his commentary of Yājñavalkyasmṛti (ācārādhyāya).

* Amarakośa II 6. 121.